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The Spirit of India

INDIRA GANDHI ABHINANDAN GRANTH

The Spirit of India

Volume One : English

Volume Two : English

Volume Three : Hindi

Volume Four : Urdu



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The Spirit of India

Volumes Presented to
Shrimati Indira Gandhi
by the
Indira Gandhi Abhinandan Samiti

Volume One



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Introduction

Shrimati Indira Gandhi is one of the most dynamic leaders that India has known in its long history. Whoever moulds events so powerfully must expect to be acclaimed, often denigrated, and constantly spoken and written about. An objective assessment of Shrimati Indira Gandhi's full contribution must be left to the future. But the present certainly owes a great debt to her.

This set of volumes is a humble acknowledgement of the debt.

The idea of publishing these volumes arose when, under Shrimati Indira Gandhi's brilliant and inspired leadership, India successfully defended its freedom and helped the people of Bangladesh to secure their independence. The true spirit of India triumphantly manifested itself at that moment in the person of Indira Gandhi. It was natural, therefore, that we should choose the title *THE SPIRIT OF INDIA* for the book we contemplated. Our objective was that the book should shed light on Shrimati Indira Gandhi's fascinating and many-faceted personality and should also contain articles which would lead to a better understanding of the genius of the Indian nation, its thought and its achievement, its recent fight against foreign bondage, and its more recent endeavour to consolidate freedom and develop its material and human resources in order to take its due place again in the vanguard of civilization.

When we broached the idea of the book with Shrimati Indira Gandhi, she was reluctant because of her innate dislike of adulation and ceremonial. But we persevered as our intention was to publish a book not of passing praise but of enduring usefulness. It is kind of her to have allowed this book to be published and to have permitted the inclusion of a selection of her writings and speeches as well as many rare photographs from the family albums.

We are particularly gratified that these volumes provide the most comprehensive pictorial chronicle of Shrimati Indira Gandhi's life so far compiled.

We are deeply beholden to the President, Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, and to the former President, Shri V. V. Giri, for their support to our project.

We are grateful to the authors and photographers for their contributions to the book, to the editors and designers for their labour of love, to the publishers and printers, and to the numerous institutions without whose help our work would not have taken shape.

SHANKAR DAYAL SHARMA
UMA SHANKAR DIKSHIT
RAJENDRA KUMARI BAJPAI

Foreword

Rashtrapati Bhavan
New Delhi 4

December 27, 1974

Poet Rabindranath Tagore said of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru that he was a man who was greater than his deeds. This applies equally to Shrimati Indira Gandhi. Few of our contemporaries have equalled her in daring and decisiveness, in imagination and comprehension of the human heritage and the problems of the future. All these make her one of the outstanding figures of our time. Women of all countries identify themselves with her as one who personifies the power that is in women.

Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Indira Gandhi—there may be few other instances of the gift of leadership visiting three successive generations of a family. Yet, how different each is from the other! To be born of famous parents has disadvantages which balance the advantages. There is frequent resort to comparisons, and too ready a tendency to attribute personal achievement to inherited prerogative. It could well be that in affirming their faith in Shrimati Indira Gandhi the people of India desired to see a continuation of the vision and dynamism of her father. But whatever battles she has had to fight in the last nine years she has fought and won on her own. She is refreshingly free from parochial or sectarian prejudice. Her mind is free of dogma and open to the light of new ideas.

I am glad that these handsome volumes are being presented to Shrimati Indira Gandhi as a token of the gratitude which the people of India feel towards her. It is particularly apt that the book should be called "The Spirit of India".

F. A. Ahmed

A Tribute

By

V. V. Giri

Mahatma Gandhi taught us the peaceful path to freedom. Jawaharlal Nehru laid the foundation for consolidating that freedom and ceaselessly worked not merely for India's economic salvation but, even more, for securing for her a place of pride in the wider community of nations. He had envisioned for India a future in which the country would build high dams and big industries which would help a rapid growth of our agriculture as well as enable us to attain technological excellence.

Twenty-five years of freedom is an appropriate time for us to make an assessment of our achievements and failures. The democratic institutions we constructed during this period have stood the test of time, and our Constitution has proved itself capable of responding to the needs of purposeful administration. In a vast country like India when it emerged free from alien rule with an undeveloped economy, and a people, the large majority of whom had been kept backward, it was inevitable that progress towards achievement had to be slow and measured.

These twenty-five years also saw a new generation growing up with a clear awareness of our commitment to secure to all citizens alike social, economic, and political justice. Politically, we have proved our capacity to be united, stable, and responsive to dynamic change. We have, however, yet a very long way to go before we can say with confidence that we have created a social order in which the available material resources are so distributed as to subserve the common good. We have also to work incessantly towards not merely building upon these resources, but to go on augmenting them and devising methods and means to put them to the best use. It is here that the relevance of Shrimati Indira Gandhi's leadership of India today is significant. She has a clear understanding of the needs of the vast millions of the common people of our country and for whom a decent life is still a distant prospect. They have reposed their faith in her as in no other leader since independence. As the prime inheritor of resurgent India's destiny, she has an unenviable and uphill task. Some measures have been taken to reduce the disparities between man and man. These have been bold steps and enabled the State to give positive direction to its economic policies. But these cover only a fringe of our commitment to reshape ourselves into an egalitarian society with even and equal opportunity for all for self-development. In the fulfilment of this objective, every Indian, man and woman, has a duty to give Indira Gandhi unstinted support.

Human freedom and human liberty are values of life to be cherished; they are not mere political or philosophical concepts. India's struggle for independence was for upholding these values and preserving them in their pristine glory, not for Indians alone but for every citizen inhabiting the wide world. As one much older than Indira Gandhi, and as one who has had the privilege of close association with her father and her grandfather, two of the most dedicated sons of India, I wish her many long years in the service of our people.

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General Editor's Note

We feel honoured to present these felicitation volumes to Shrimati Indira Gandhi as a token of the people's love and esteem for her courageous, dynamic, and wise leadership during an important period of the nation's life.

Mahatma Gandhi led our countrymen from political slavery to freedom. From him we have inherited the triple principles of truth, non-violence, and service of the people. Jawaharlal Nehru led the nation from the feudal to the modern age. From him we have inherited the principles of democracy, secularism, socialism, and dedication to world peace.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi, following in the footsteps of Mahatma Gandhi and her father, is leading the people in the war against poverty and exploitation. The forces of reaction are offering deadly resistance to her at every step but she is determined to meet their challenge. For our masses she is a symbol of hope.

The idea of this Abhinandan Granth emanated from Dr. Rajendra Kumari Bajpai, then President of the Uttar Pradesh Provincial Congress Committee, during Shrimati Indira Gandhi's visit to Lucknow in January 1972. A Committee was formed which later constituted an Editorial Advisory Committee with B. N. Pande as the General Editor, and eminent Hindi, Urdu and English scholars as members.

In April 1972 a general outline of the project was printed and circulated to prominent scholars and writers over the country. Some foreign scholars were also invited to send their contributions. An effort was made in particular to secure reminiscences from Shrimati Indira Gandhi's schoolmates, teachers, relations, co-workers in the fight for freedom and colleagues in politics. The response was prompt and overwhelming.

Originally the plan was to bring out a volume of some eight hundred pages. But as the work progressed we received contributions which would have run to three thousand five hundred pages. To print all of them was beyond our capacity. We beg the indulgence of those authors who acceded to our request but whose contributions we have not been able to accommodate.

We had hoped to present these volumes to the Prime Minister on her birthday in the silver jubilee year of our freedom. But owing to the time taken to convince her about the worthwhileness of the project and other difficulties which were beyond our control, the production of these volumes has been delayed. The time gained could not, however, be utilized to bring some of the contents up-to-date, for that would have stretched the schedule further. Because of the delay we have the regretful duty of recording that some of the authors who contributed to the book are no more with us. I should like to pay homage to the memory of Shri D. P. Dhar, Mlle L. Hemmerlin, Shrimati Tehmina Kershasp Gandhi, Acharya Vishwa Bandhu Shastri, Dr. Tara Chand, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, Seth Govind Das, Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose, Dr. Ramdhari Singh

Dinkar, Professor Ehtesham Husain and Prof. A. N. Upadhye. I may add in this list the name of late Shri S. M. Desai of M/s Vakil & Sons who helped us in revising the text of the third volume.

A few words about the general outline of the project. It includes four volumes. Volume I has three sections. The first consists of recollections of Shrimati Indira Gandhi's friends, colleagues and relations. The second is a selection of her speeches and writings, which bring out her basic philosophy and the guiding considerations of her policies for the country and for the Congress Party. They are grouped in five clusters : Speaking as Prime Minister; The Congress and its Mission; Building the Nation; India and the World; and Reminiscences and Reflections. The third section is a portfolio of nearly 800 photographs, the most comprehensive pictorial compilation so far undertaken on the Prime Minister's life and work.

Volume II has articles bunched in ten sections : The Indian Heritage; The Nationalist Struggle; Consolidation of Freedom; Problems of National Integration; The Regional Streams; Development and Modernization; Problems of Foreign Policy; Bangladesh; The Family of Man; and the Nehrus.

Volume III contains independent articles in Hindi and Sanskrit bunched in eight sections : Personality and Achievement; Selected Hindi Speeches and Writings of Shrimati Indira Gandhi; Art and Culture; Literature and Society; Politics : Principles and Problems; Indian Tradition : The Changing Decades and Changing Values; Religion and History; and The Confluence of Languages.

Volume IV consists of articles in Urdu grouped in one section.

I am grateful to Babu Jagjivan Ram, Shri Uma Shankar Dikshit, Dr. S. D. Sharma, Shri V. P. Naik, Dr. Rajendra Kumari Bajpai, Shri I. K. Gujral, Prof. Nurul Hasan and Dr. Karan Singh for their guidance in the preparation of these volumes.

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In the compilation of the Granth, and in the editing and arrangement of the English articles, we have received help from Shri H. Y. Sharada Prasad. I am grateful for the valuable cooperation of the members of the Editorial Advisory Committee : Shri D. R. Goyal, Dr. Gopal Tripathi, Dr. B. S. Upadhyaya, Dr. S. C. Kala, Dr. D. D. Tewari, Dr. R. B. Das, Dr. Satish Chandra, Prof. Santimoy Roy, Shri S. K. Bose, Smt. Maitraye Devi and Prof. O. P. Bhatnagar.

Prof. K. Swaminathan, Chief Editor of the Collected Works of Mahatma

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We acknowledge the kindness of Shrimati Subhadra Joshi and Shri D. R. Goyal in allowing us the use of the premises of *Secular Democracy* for our New Delhi office. Likewise we are thankful to the Hindustani Culture Society for permitting us to use the premises of the Society to locate our office in Allahabad. We are also obliged to Shri Jayant C. Gandhi for giving us accommodation and the services of his staff for our work in Bombay.

Shri P. Narayan, who was in charge of the office of the Samiti, discharged a heavy burden with the help of devoted assistants. They undertook a vast amount of correspondence and the typing of more than 6,000 pages of the Hindi and English manuscript. We are thankful to them.

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B. N. PANDE
General Editor

About the Contributors

The late **Mlle L. Hemmerlin** was Principal of L'Ecole Nouvelle, Bex, Switzerland, to which Shrimati Indira Gandhi went in 1926. She was again under Mlle Hemmerlin's care in 1935-36.

Mlle Maude Cousin and **Mlle Liliane Cousin** were the Prime Minister's classmates at L'Ecole Nouvelle.

Shrimati Coonverbai J. Vakil was, along with her husband Shri Jahangir Vakil, the founder of the Pupils' Own School, Poona and later at Bombay, where Shrimati Indira Gandhi studied between 1931 and 1934.

Shri Anil K. Chanda was Secretary to Gurudeva Rabindranath Tagore and Registrar of Visva-Bharati University. Later he was a Member of Parliament and Deputy Minister in the Union Government.

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Section I

Reminiscences

A Little Gift of Remembrance

L. Hemmerlin

Indira, a little girl from India, arrived in our school in Switzerland. She was warmly welcomed as a present from a wonderful country. But that country was not independent and soon all of us took part in Indira's ardent wish to free it.

Very young she had learned to control herself and accepted new situations without surprise. She greeted everybody with a winning smile and was very popular among her companions. The teachers loved her. She shared her daily activities with her room-mate Liliane, like little sisters playing and making fun together. But Indira had a clear look about her country and a firm will to free it from foreign power, as her parents and all her family did, who found no sacrifice too hard for liberty.

She often pronounced the name of Gandhi. We wanted to know all about him when we saw him emaciated and serene lying on a bed, with Indira at his feet. She told us why he had fasted with risk to his life and how Non-violent Resistance was more powerful than hatred or weapons.

We wanted to know him. The day arrived. Indira had returned to her country, and we wished to send her little presents when Gandhi also was going back. We could greet him when his train stopped a while at the station of Bex. He smiled at all these children with their small little parcels for Indira. His face was illuminated with love and the little hands stretched to him felt the blessing of his hand.

The link between Gandhi and the whole world was created by Indira Nehru and lasts for ever.

Lydie Hemmerlin is now 98, and ran the school at Bex which Mrs. Gandhi attended when she was nine.

Dear Indira,

How happy I am to join in the celebration of your birthday! May all our ardent wishes be realized and, amidst your difficult functions, be preserved your precious human qualities which I had already the privilege to appreciate in the years of your adolescence as we travelled together in Italy. Everywhere people came to greet you, ready to be helpful and, with a maturity which I admired, you found for each the right answer, knowing how to refuse, or perhaps to accept, favourable conditions for our journey.

A French quotation says: "*La valeur n'attend pas le nombre des années.*"* And last year, in Paris, I found that you had not changed, and I was moved by the gentleness and simplicity with which you answered my numerous questions.

In the meantime we were also favoured with the evidence of the important place of your familiar affections in your life, including also relations of friendship. You appear often on our TV and you are featured in papers and magazines. For me it is always the opportunity to be thankful to you with all my heart for your fighting to create peace and better conditions of life all over the world.

Very cordially yours,

Maud Cousin

*The quotation may be roughly translated as: *Worth does not depend upon age.*—Ed.

Dear Indira,

The possibility is just given to me to place on your birthday path a flower among all those which will be gathered together and offered to you in a book. It is an unexpected way to wish you a Happy Birthday and will move you somewhat.

You know how happy we are to know you and to see you at work. For Mademoiselle Hemmerlin, for Maud and for myself it is captivating to have the privilege to see you on the television and to be able to follow you closely all along your life.

I know how precious is your time and I shall try to make this short and sweet.

I just want to remind you of a small event of our childhood when we met in the pension in Bex: you were ten years old and I was almost eight. We had to gargle with a lovely purple liquid and, standing in front of the bath tub, you had the idea of humming in the roulade style, and with all your strength, a Swiss song which we had learnt! Do you remember the words?

“The alp shelters a lovely chamois, Youlahe!

Its fleece is of a lovely red

In freedom it jumps from stone to stone. . . .”

At the same time you were trying to hold, as long as possible, each mouthful of gargle liquid while singing. . . .

I copied you, trying even to do better in reaching the utmost of my breathing capacity. . . .

We had such a good time playing that sort of a game so earnestly that we very nearly were late for breakfast!

In any case you could not be blamed for not having done all you could to strengthen your health!

And now, I will bring this chat to an end sending you all my good wishes for the success of your so many activities.

With my warmest greetings to all of you and, more so, to you on your birthday,

I remain,
Very affectionately yours,
Liliane Cousin

Indira at The Pupils' Own School

Coonverbai J. Vakil

The years roll back and I see a familiar scene again — children sweeping and dusting, busy with their duties of looking after their school, The Pupils' Own School.

The school was run in our bungalow and full scope was offered to the students to develop individual thinking. The students took a vital part in every activity and were brought up under a deep cultural background and a keen sense of national awareness. Those were the days of our freedom struggle and the school was so much involved in the movement that government recognition was not sought. It was after the National Congress at Karachi in 1931 that we returned to Poona with two new pupils, Indira and Soonu Dastur, the daughter of another Congress supporter. Later, other Congress leaders too sent their children to the school including Vijayalakshmi Pandit and Jamnalal Bajaj. The atmosphere was that of a big family rather than a boarding school. The children called my husband Kaka and me Aunt. Eventually we were known as Kaka and Aunt by everyone.

Though she came from an affluent and sophisticated background, Indira completely adapted herself to the simple life of the school, enthusiastically carrying out her duties and participating in every activity. She considered herself an elder sister to the younger children in the school.

The school had a large compound with a beautiful banyan tree on which Indira and the children relaxed in their free time. Sundays were special gardening days when she and the other students took brooms and spades and thoroughly swept and tidied the garden for the whole week. Manual work was done with a sense of pride and they had a natural dignity towards work.

Even at that age, Indira had a great capacity for organization and the qualities of a leader. She was president of the Sahitya Sabha, editor of the school magazine, and the chief justice of the school committee. But it was her easy manner and an eagerness to help that endeared her to everyone and made her so popular. When Gandhiji was on his historic fast, Rabindranath Tagore came to Poona to visit him. On Bapu's birthday a small function was arranged by the students, where the Poet was invited to preside. Indira wrote a very moving piece for the occasion and read it with great feeling before the small assembly. Gurudeva recited from the *Gitanjali* and the children sang devotional songs. On the first day of the fast, the school children adopted a little Harijan girl, and Indira shouldered the main responsibility of looking after her till the little girl left the school. All this, I think, made a very deep impression on her young mind.

Indira was always a good student and a voracious reader, though by no means a bookworm. She was very good at *lezim* and *lathi*, and was a very fast runner. She also showed keen interest in art, music, drama and dancing — activities greatly encouraged in the school.

Throughout her stay at the school Indira, being the eldest, helped me in all my extracurricular work, specially during concerts and functions.

When the children had their birthdays, she used to stay up at night with me to arrange and decorate the room, a job in which she excelled. She had become an integral part of the school by the time she left. Even now she looks back at her school days with much affection.

After so many years, she even remembered a school trip to Bijapur in the greatest detail. I was touched when a few months ago Indira sent me a couple of hand-written programmes of the school Sahitya Sabha, which she had preserved for nearly 40 years.

It was a rewarding experience to have a student like Indira and the bond then formed is as strong today. Watching her all these years I cannot but feel extremely proud and happy.

Indira at Santiniketan

Anil K. Chanda

Priyadarshini Indira passed the Matriculation examination of the Bombay University in 1934, and was admitted as a student of Siksha Bhavana, the college department at Santiniketan, for the next academic session. Before she was sent to Santiniketan, her parents paid a visit to the *asrama* to see things for themselves. That was in January of 1934. Though Jawaharlal Nehru had been in Santiniketan more than once before, this was the only occasion that Kamala Nehru visited the place.

I was at that time secretary to Rabindranath and acted as a sort of public relations officer for Visva Bharati. As such, it fell to my happy lot to look after our honoured guests to a large extent, in which task I was considerably assisted by my wife, Ranee Devi, to whom I had been married only a few weeks before. The Nehrus stayed in the small guest room attached to Rabindranath's own residence "Konarko" and we occupied the adjacent thatched cottage "Mrinmoyee". It was indeed a rare privilege and was the beginning of a lifelong association with Panditji. They enjoyed their visit and signed in my visitors' book: "In memory of a delightful day in life's journey."

On April 27, 1934, Panditji sent a long letter from the Alipore Central Jail, in which he asked us to make arrangements for his daughter's admission into the college from the following academic session in July. The letter is interesting because in it he outlined his basic ideas about the education of girls in the country. He wrote that he had no desire to send his daughter to official universities. . . . "I dislike them intensely," he said, and added that it was his intention to send her to Europe, probably Switzerland, for her education; "but events have a way of taking the initiative out of our hands, and for the last many years we have lived in many ways, a hand to mouth existence, finding it difficult to plan out the future." He left it to his daughter to choose her subjects, adding that "decisions must not be imposed on the modern girl!" But he said: "I dislike the education which prepares a girl to play a part in the drawing room and nowhere else. Personally, if I had the chance, I would like to have my daughter work in a factory for a year, just as any other worker, as part of her education." The realist that he was, he knew that "this kind, I think, is quite impossible in India."

Indira joined as a student a little later than the official opening of the college, as Kamala Nehru's illness had taken a serious turn and Indira's presence was needed by her mother's bed. She came as soon as her mother was a little better. She lived like all other girls in the girls' hostel, then called Sree Bhavana, sharing her room with three or four other girls. It was Panditji's express wish that no facilities out of the ordinary were to be offered to her. Indira was indeed a very disciplined young lady and would have surely disliked any fuss over her. She entered the daily life of the *asrama* (as we called Santiniketan those days) with perfect earnestness and diligence, and could justifiably be described as a model student.

In addition to my secretarial duties, I continued taking classes in Politics and Constitutions in the college, and I, therefore, had the privilege of having the future Acharya of Visva Bharati as one of my students in the small group that gathered in the shade of a towering sal tree. In addition to her classes in the college, she took lessons in painting as a part-time interdepartmental student in the Kala Bhavana under Nandalal Bose. She even joined the dancing classes and took part in the picturesque procession of girl dancers who, decked in light yellow sarees and spring flowers, brought the emblems of spring to the Amrakunja, where Vasanta celebrations took place in the presence of Gurudeva Rabindranath. If I remember aright, Vijayalakshmi Pandit was present at the ceremony that year and she greatly admired all that she saw. I was at the Howrah station when she was leaving for Allahabad, and Dr Bidhan Chandra Roy, who had also come to see her off, asked her how 'Indu' was getting on at Santiniketan. Vijayalakshmi Pandit replied: "Famously. Why, she has even learned to take sugar with her dahi!"

Two rather interesting episodes of Indira's student days come to my mind, and they would bear retelling here. When she was a student at Santiniketan, a Central European art scholar was a visiting professor there, and Indira was one of the students who used to attend his popular lectures on Indian art, which were held in the central hall of the Museum building of the Kala Bhavana. Students of the Kala Bhavana, in those days, as today, sat on the floor on their *asanas* in their appointed places and did their work on a desk. Sometimes, if it was a big picture, they even spread it on the floor in the traditional way of our *shilpis*. People who entered the Kala Bhavana, therefore, took their shoes off. This professor, however, would always walk in with his shoes on. He paid no attention to the students' request to take off his shoes when entering the Museum. After the first few lectures, when the professor again came in with his shoes on, all the students walked out in an orderly and dignified manner without a word, leaving the professor gaping in anger and wonderment. This silent demonstration was reported to have been planned by a small group of students led by Indira and Khan Abdul Ghani Khan, the Frontier Gandhi's son, who was then a student of the Kala Bhavana. The matter was brought to the attention of the Poet. The students made certain other allegations too and the professor was advised to leave Santiniketan, which he did by the next available train. He never forgave Santiniketan for this and in later years when he was associated with a Delhi newspaper as its art director, he invariably dipped his pen in vitriol whenever he had an occasion to write on the Bengal school of art in general and Santiniketan in particular.

The second incident refers to the visit of the Bengal Governor, Sir John Anderson, to Santiniketan on February 6, 1935. Ever since the days of the first Bengal Governor, Lord Carmichael, it had been the usual

practice of the Provincial Governor to pay a visit to Santiniketan when he came to the district. Those were days of intensive revolutionary activity in Bengal and only a few weeks before his visit to the district of Birbhum, Sir John had been the unsuccessful target of a revolutionary's pistol in the Race Course in Darjeeling. The police were, therefore, overzealous in their preventive preparations before the gubernatorial visit. It may also have been due to the fact that both the District Collector and the District Superintendent of Police at that time happened to be elderly officers of the Provincial Service who generally were very energetic in the service of the *Raj*. During the previous Governors' visits and even that of the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, the police never came into the *asrama* in their uniform. A few plainclothes men were placed here and there in an unobtrusive way.

But on this occasion the district officers came to see the Poet and said that under instructions they would have to take some suspected students into preventive custody for a few days before the Governor's visit. Gurudeva was aghast at the suggestion. His eyes flashed with anger and he told his visitors that they were free to do whatever they liked, but he on his part would immediately send a telegram to the Governor asking him to cancel his visit as he did not like to see the students left in his charge by their parents behind the jail bars to ensure his guest's safety. He ordered me to send the telegram at once and left the room. The district officers felt greatly distressed at this turn of events and, after a hurried consultation amongst themselves, asked me to dissuade the Poet from sending such a request to the Governor, saying that they would take the responsibility on themselves and not effect the arrests. A compromise was reached that although no arrests would be made, those people who would be required to go near the Governor would have to carry an identity card signed by the *Karmasachiva* of Visva Bharati and the Superintendent of Police. Gurudeva, however, directed that on that day everybody, students and teachers alike, would go away to Sriniketan for a picnic, leaving only a few card-owning workers to show the Governor round. Santiniketan was a dead place on that day. Hardly a dozen of us were present in the whole *asrama*. I remember when the Governor went to visit the Kala Bhavana, the Director, Nandalal Bose, an ardent Congressman, very ceremoniously hung his identity card on his neck with a silk cord as if it were a medal of honour on his chest. Sir John surely did not like this glorious spectacle. Santiniketan had very little to show by way of buildings in those days and the girls' hostel — Sree Bhavana (now called Sree Sadana, as under the Visva Bharati Act, "Bhavana" is an academic department) — was therefore one of the places to be visited by the Governor. He passed through some of the dormitories and rooms and chanced to notice a neatly arranged table by a bedside near the entrance of one of the rooms. Out of sheer curiosity

he picked up a book from the carefully arranged rack, and it was a copy of Shaw's *An Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism*. He picked up a few more and they seemed to be all on socialism or allied subjects. He asked as to who "this Red Lady" was and on being told that the seat belonged to Jawaharlal Nehru's daughter, he chuckled and said: "Ah, that explains it." Later on, when he met Gurudeva at tea, the Poet complained about the trouble he had at the hands of "the supercilious policeman of the district" who threatened to arrest a few of his students to safeguard the life of his guest. Sir John turned beet-red in the face and profusely apologized for any inconvenience caused to his host by his visit. "The supercilious policeman" was ordered away from the district in about a week's time.

We had our *Nava Varsha* (first of *Baisakh* according to the Bengali calendar) celebrations on April 14 in the morning, and soon after we received a message from Anand Bhawan that there had been a serious deterioration in Kamala Nehru's health. Indira left for Allahabad by the afternoon train. She was destined not to return to Santiniketan again as a student. Soon after, she left for Switzerland with her ailing mother.

On April 16, the day after Indira's return to Allahabad, Jawaharlal Nehru wrote to Rabindranath that he was exceedingly sorry that he had to cut short her career at Santiniketan. He wrote: "I have seen very little of her during her year at Santiniketan. The last time I had a brief glimpse of her at a jail interview was nearly six months ago. But even these brief glimpses, as well as the reports I have had from friends, have convinced me how well she was getting on there. Her own testimony — and that is important enough — is clear and she has been very happy at Santiniketan and has no desire whatever to leave it. It was a great consolation to me in prison that my daughter was surrounded by loving and capable friends who were gently helping her development in the right direction and I felt infinitely grateful to all of them for the love and kindness they showered on her. I rejoiced that I had been fortunate enough to choose Santiniketan for her education at this stage of her life."

A year later he wrote again to Gurudeva on the subject. The letter was dated Allahabad, December 14, 1936. It said: "A few lines from a recent letter from Indira might interest you. Of course she did not write them for you and I am sending them to you without her knowledge. She was telling me of how she feels that she is growing and changing — how she has changed since I met her last. Strangely enough she has not taken well to the English people as a whole, although she says that there are many exceptions whom she likes. Then she goes on to say: I am glad of my stay at Santiniketan — chiefly because of Gurudeva. In the very atmosphere there his spirit seemed to roam and hover over one and follow one with a loving though deep watchfulness. And his spirit, I feel, has greatly influenced my life and thought."

Reminiscences of Indira Gandhi

Kamila Tyabji

It was September 11, 1937, a grey, typical monsoon day in Bombay, but nevertheless a great occasion in my life. I was being escorted to Ballard Pier by a small crowd of my family, for on that day I was to sail away to England and to Oxford, from which I was not to return, as I thought, for two or perhaps even three long years.

Suddenly it appeared as though there was an electric spark, and a slim, well-dressed man brushed right past me and rushed forward. A ripple of voices murmured: Pandit Nehru! It was the first time I had seen him that close and the first inkling I had that his only daughter, Indira, was going to Oxford at the same time and in the same ship as I was.

The rest of that day is a blur in my mind. We were an intensely closely knit family, and this was to be my first serious separation. I wept bitterly, and I remember my mother saying: "If you don't want to go, you can still change your mind." But I, who had fought solidly for a year for the right to be sent to Oxford, managed to answer through my sobs: "No, no. I do want to go."

Indira, on the other hand, was calm, unruffled. It was the first glimpse I had of that intrepid training from her father she had had from her earliest years; the suffering, and the inevitable hardening that her family's intense involvement in the independence struggle had caused her. She was already a veteran at parting. We stood side by side, waving, as the ship sailed away; she, perfectly controlled, whilst I just did not know what to do with my tears. Could it be perhaps that we each had a premonition — she, that she would be back within the year, whilst I, that I was not to see my country again, except for one fleeting glimpse, until twenty-two years later?

What impressions did I have of her on the voyage? It would be foolish to say that I sensed in any way that one day she would be as great as she was now. Greatness is not something that exists ready-made within people; it is a capacity for growth. In what measure Indiraji has this capacity we can gauge from the fact that each opportunity she has had, each crisis she has faced, has added yards, not inches, to her height.

I can remember one long talk with her, our first. One could not miss her obvious intelligence. But what struck me most was the maturity, the wealth of experience she had already been through, at an age when I and most of my contemporaries were just emerging from our thoroughly sheltered lives. She had already, of course, been at finishing school in Geneva. She had been a witness to her mother's long illness and subsequent death. Her experiments in organizing Hanuman's Brigade in aid of Indian independence were long behind her. She took it as a matter of course, at a time when most girls still shrank from the thought of travelling alone, to go third class all over India in the national cause.

All this, perhaps, although we did not realize it at the time, made her feel different from the rest of us. That ship, the *Viceroy of India*, was

full of students. We all had a very gay time together, but Indira, it seemed, was just a little bit aloof, though very warm and friendly to talk to all the same. It seemed as though she had a decided life of her own to lead. Perhaps this too was something she had imbibed from her father whose inner loneliness, that stamp of greatness, as biographers had pointed out, grew with the years.

Indian students in Oxford of those days were simply steeped in politics. The Majlis, in which almost all of us took a very active interest, discussed nothing but independence — when and how it would come. It is amazing how, even so shortly before independence was to become a reality, we were all so utterly convinced that Britain would never give it to us willingly.

So there we were, talking and thinking politics all the time. We even held a study group on Sundays, usually at the rooms of Satish Kalelkar, already a seasoned politician, at which we discussed all India's problems, and found typically students' solutions for them. We discussed the Hindu-Muslim problem and dismissed it as mainly a British creation. Who could have dreamt in those days that Pakistan was just round the corner?

But I do not think Indira ever came to any of these meetings. I remember one occasion in particular, when we were celebrating Declaration of Independence being India's goal. We had all looked forward eagerly to her presence but still she did not come. I do not know whether it was a reaction to too much politics at home, or whether she found our discussions too callow, which indeed they were, or whether it was simply that her life elsewhere had too many pulls. It was not until much later that we came to know of her attachment to Feroze Gandhi, then in London — although their friendship had started much earlier, during the time of her mother's illness. She was in any case at Somerville, whilst Kamal Dastur and I were at St. Hughes, so that we only met from time to time.

Then, suddenly, we heard that her health was not standing up to the strain of Oxford studies, and she left and came away to India. Can one believe that of our Prime Minister today, who seems to have twice the stamina of any of her colleagues? Perhaps destiny was saving her strength for its own purposes.

She came back again, briefly, to Oxford, but I do not specifically recollect meeting her then. And then the War clouds gathered and she left for good.

My next recollection of her was years later, by which time I had become a confirmed Londoner. I was Chairman of the Women's India Association of UK, and we had invited her to speak at a joint meeting with the Women's Council and ourselves. Before the meeting, a group of us had an informal lunch with her. Both at the lunch and at the meeting afterwards, she left an outstanding impression of utter sincerity and dedication to India, together with a simple naturalness which was

remarkable in a person who must have been lionized most of her life. She spoke of many of the things she had done, including, I remember, how she came to take up the cause of street urchins in Delhi; but never could anyone have related his own experiences with less show of conceit than she.

One more incident I must record and, looking back, it was the first time I came across that zest she had for detail, almost an artist's concern not to leave anything untidy. She had been asked a question at the end of our talk, a factual question which she could not answer without the relevant statistics before her. Two weeks later, when I met her again at a luncheon, she gave me a slip of paper with the answer written on it, asking me to read it out at our next meeting.

Once, when I proposed a vote of thanks to her, I recollect speaking of the Nehrus as a family, and what they had contributed in grace, integrity and quality to this country. Little did I realize then that ten years later, if I had the good fortune to speak of it once again, the prime laurels might very well be hers and not her father's.

How We Welcomed Indira into the Family

Tehmina Kershasp Gandhi

Years before Feroze's actual marriage took place we knew of the admiration that he had for Jawaharlal Nehru and his devotion and affection for Kamalaji and Indira. After their return from England (both Indira and Feroze had returned by the same boat) whispers of a romance brewing between them had trickled to our ears, but we paid little attention to it and put it down to the imagination of people. So when Feroze broached the subject with me after a while, I was not surprised. I advised him to be practical and not live in a fool's paradise, and I asked him how he expected to support himself and her if he was really serious. He said they had both talked over things and Indira knew how he was placed and what she was to expect. I told him not to rush matters as to one in love everything must seem rosy, but he had to be practical and should wait till he had some stable income by which he could support a wife, and specially one like Indira.

Then I broached the subject with my family. They were of the same opinion as myself and were rather doubtful as to how she would fit into a middle-class family like ours after being accustomed to the affluent life in her father's house. They had no objections otherwise. Even Mother, from whom I thought I would meet the biggest opposition, did not offer any. After a time she seemed not only reconciled but even happy. I left it to the family to get used to the idea of an intercommunal marriage if it did materialize.

For my own part I never for a moment thought that Panditji, a man of the world, would ever agree to such a proposal, and was taken quite by surprise when one day Feroze came and said, Panditji wanted to see me and know the family's views. When I went to see him, I told him we had talked things over amongst ourselves and would be very happy to have Indira come to us as a daughter of the house. The only thing that I wanted him to know was that we were not at all wealthy people and I was the only earning member in the family, but we would be glad to welcome her. I told him that he must know that Feroze had no fixed income of his own and I did not know how he could support a wife. His reply was: "Life is an adventure. Suppose he had a fixed income today and did not have it tomorrow. What would happen then? They would live somehow. I have studied Feroze for some time, and more closely of late, and I feel that whatever happens, he will always land on his feet." I said if that was the case then we could go ahead and give them our blessings for we had no other qualms.

And so, March 26, 1942, Ram Navami Day, was chosen for the auspicious occasion when Panditji gave Indira to Feroze and into our keeping, and we welcomed her and took her to our hearts and none of us have ever regretted doing so.

At first she was shy and reserved but she has grown closer to us after Feroze passed away. She has carved a niche for herself in all our

hearts by her loving and understanding nature. She treats us always with deference and the respect due to the older people in the family, takes us into her confidence and finds time from her busy schedule to write occasionally and inform us of things happening in the family, which assures one of the esteem, love and affection she has for us and proves that, as in her public so in her personal life, she makes no distinction between the rich and the poor, the high and the lowly. Any individual, of however humble an origin, is made to feel and have the confidence that he or she can approach her and be sure of a patient hearing.

Her cheerful smile, innate politeness, tact and consideration for others are always there, but that does not mean that she cannot assume the form of Durga if and when necessary. She has dedicated her life to the services of the nation and humanity, and it will serve as a lasting reminder and inspiration not only to us who hold her in high esteem and affection, but to millions of others in this troubled world. Is it any wonder then that we feel so proud to count her as one of the family and consider ourselves blessed in doing so?

My Mother-in-law

Sonia Gandhi

I come from Italy, a country which has several things in common with India and its people, but is still very different from this vast land in which I live happily with my husband Rajiv, two children, mother-in-law and brother-in-law.

In my country, the word 'mother-in-law' is not a very complimentary one, and we have jokes about people trying to get rid of her. So you can imagine how many girls fear the day they have to meet, or worse, go and live with their mothers-in-law. With this background, when I first met Rajiv's mother in London, I could hardly bring myself to enter her room. Rajiv had literally to push me in as I was so terrified of meeting my "may be" mother-in-law. At the same time, I was very touched by her desire to meet me. I still remember my entering the room with mixed feelings. Suddenly, I felt big tears rolling down my cheeks. I was praying that Rajiv might not leave me alone with her lest I should get eaten up, or at least badly cross-examined and eventually strongly disapproved of.

Everything turned out to be quite the opposite. She was very kind to me, offered me sweets, and even helped me to repair the hem of my skirt which had caught on a chair in her room. She also enquired about my studies generally and made me feel comfortable and at ease.

Three years later, I met her again, and this time she was to become my mother-in-law. As my parents were to arrive only two days before the wedding, she made and supervised all the arrangements for the ceremonies — the party, the invitees, my clothes — and took great interest in all the details. In those days, I must say, I needed quite a lot of moral support, as I was suddenly faced with new ways, new people, a good number of relations, photographers and interviews. My mother-in-law would explain to me who was who, what I was expected to do at that particular time, and what was the meaning of the various ceremonies. At times, when I felt nervous, she would tell me stories of other weddings and of funny things that had happened at her own wedding. This helped me to cheer up and face the next step.

After my wedding when my mother left for Italy, I was naturally quite sad. Mummy — this is how I call my mother-in-law — would console me and tell me that if I was determined to make life happy, she would help me. She would even ring up from her busy schedule in the office to find out if I was feeling good.

Gradually, because of these and many other such gestures, as well as her encouraging, praising and scolding me when needed, I began looking up to Mummy for advice, for help, for guidance, just like one looks up to one's own mother.

During the period of my adjustment, she never forced me to try the food I did not feel like eating, to wear the traditional clothes, or to meet people if I did not feel like it. She was happy to taste some of the dishes I made and gave me her opinion about them. By asking my views when

something in the household had to be decided or changed, she made me feel a member of the family.

On various festivals Mummy tells me the significance of the customs in Indian life. And I always get a new sari to wear for the celebration.

Amongst other festivals we also celebrate Christmas and she takes the same interest in it as in the Indian ones.

When I had my children, Mummy was of great help and comfort. Just as she is an enviable mother-in-law, she is also an enviable grandmother. My two-year-old Rahul does not start the day without sharing a little breakfast with "Dadi" and saying good-bye to her when she leaves for office. Several times, when my husband and I have to go out, we leave the children with her, and in the midst of her heavy work, she looks after them as a loving grandmother.

With her affection and understanding I feel fully integrated with the family now, and she has also helped me to love and understand India and to think of it as my home.

Indira: Made of Strong Fibre

Rajan Nehru

My contacts with the Nehru family date back to 1928 when I married Ratan Kumar Nehru, a grandson of Pandit Nand Lal Nehru. It was Nand Lal Nehru who brought up his brother Motilal, who was a posthumous son.

When I came to Allahabad as a bride, I was first welcomed at a dinner reception by Motilal Nehru, the head of the family, at Anand Bhawan. I still have vivid memories of meeting members of the family, particularly the thrill of meeting Jawaharlal Nehru. I had seen Kamala Nehru at her wedding, but then I was very young. I remember meeting Vijayalakshmi Pandit and her distinguished husband, Ranjit Pandit, their two little daughters, Lekha and Tara, in their beautiful home in Allahabad. There was the young and attractive Krishna Nehru, a couple of years older than I. At that time Indira must have been eleven or so. She was everyone's darling, but I must confess that I saw little of her for many years, though I kept hearing about her schooling in different institutions as also the great concern of the family for her health.

One of the first few people in the family whom I got to know really well was Jawaharlal Nehru. Soon after we were married, he came unannounced to stay with us in Nagpur. He had come to preside over the Trade Union Congress. This was in 1929, when I also enrolled myself as a member of the Indian National Congress.

My husband had just been posted as an Under Secretary in the Political Department. By turns everyone from the family came to visit us. Ranjit Pandit spent a few days with us while going to Chanda for a tiger shoot. Later Vijayalakshmi visited us in Narsinghpur where my husband held charge of the district. Krishna spent a holiday of more than two weeks with us at her brother's suggestion. For some reason, we hardly saw Indira. She was a busy schoolgirl and was out of reach for us.

After another five years or more, my husband, I and our first child, Vivek, who was then four years old, sailed for Europe on a holiday. We started our travel programme from Italy and had just reached London when we received a telephone message from Agatha Harrison that Kamala Nehru was seriously ill and Indira was proceeding from Lausanne to reach her mother at Badenweiler. Agatha suggested that we also go to help her.

Within hours we packed our bags, forgot all about the holiday, and headed straight for the small sanatorium in Germany. Badenweiler lay hidden in the depths of the Black Forest, the air was fragrant with its famous pines, but it was rather a depressing little place.

It was here I met Indira once again. She was already seventeen, a student at Lausanne, self-contained, quiet and rather aloof. The most striking thing I remember about her was her pair of eyes and her jet black hair. When we reached the sanatorium, Kamala Nehru was gravely ill but all the same she was happy to see my husband and me. We were faces from home, from which she was so far away, and to which she never returned. Soon after our arrival in Badenweiler we had news

that Jawaharlal Nehru was being released on parole. This was good news for all of us, for we were all young and looked for support at this time of great anxiety. We visited the sanatorium each day and I shall never forget how bravely Kamala Nehru fought her terrible illness. Indira used to look stunned, watching her mother struggling between life and death. There seemed a very close bond between mother and daughter and their eyes spoke the same language, a language of courage and sadness.

It was a relief when Jawaharlal Nehru arrived. Kamala Nehru was so deeply happy that she suddenly seemed better. Day after day Jawaharlal Nehru tended to Kamala's little whims with extreme tenderness and care. He coaxed her like a child and pleaded with her to take some nourishment. Sometimes she asked for things which were not locally available. I remember how he got special fruit flown from London and from Spain.

One of those evenings when Kamala Nehru was somewhat better, my husband and I took Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira to our hotel for supper. For the first time that night I saw Indira really smile. It was like a revelation to me. Here was a young girl in her teens, facing traumatic challenges of life, watching her mother lying gravely ill — almost doomed to death. Until a few weeks earlier, her father was in some isolated prison thousands of miles away, and she, left to her own resources, was growing up, alone with her thoughts and anxieties. I wonder if she was imbued with some inner courage and strength even at that time and was this the seed of the determination and courage that she has so abundantly displayed now in her political career?

After the short interlude in Badenweiler, I met Indira on her return from Oxford. She had been taken ill and had to come back home without her degree. For some time she stayed up in Rajpur in the foothills of Mussoorie to recoup her health. Kamala Nehru had already died and Jawaharlal Nehru was once again in prison in Dehra Dun where I remember meeting him on several occasions. He was deeply anxious about Indira.

I attended her marriage with Feroze Gandhi in 1942. During the Quit India period and later, my contacts with Indira became more frequent. She served a term in prison in Naini Jail. After the death of Dr Ansari, the well-known nationalist leader and patriot, our house in Delhi became a permanent home for Jawaharlal Nehru whenever he came there. On some of his visits Indira accompanied him. A memorable visit was when she came as a very new mother, carrying an astonishingly beautiful baby in her arms. This was Rajiv, her first-born.

Again and again Jawaharlal Nehru came to stay with us. Delhi was the venue of meetings, conferences, negotiations and discussions. The longest stay he ever made in our home was when Sir Stafford Cripps came on his mission. The Cripps Mission was a failure, and Jawaharlal

Nehru's fatigue at the end of the parleys was frightening. We had to call up Dr Bidhan Roy for advice. Fortunately Jawaharlal Nehru had an amazing capacity to recoup quickly. Soon he was fit and once again was ready for the fray. The struggle for independence continued. Then came the visit of Madame Chiang Kai-shek to our house to meet Jawaharlal Nehru. The Press was banned and yet an Indian journalist who hid behind the bushes got his famous scoop. I also got an interview with this glamorous lady for the *Roshini*, the official journal of the All-India Women's Conference, of which I was the editor.

The next British negotiator was Lord Pethick-Lawrence. Endless negotiations and meetings went on at Birla House where Gandhiji lived, and at 18 Hardinge Avenue, now Tilak Marg, where Jawaharlal Nehru lived with us. Those were exciting and hectic days. The entire Congress hierarchy and crowds of Indian and foreign journalists passed through our gates. The air was heavy with rumours that the Muslim League would insist on partition and seek a separate homeland for the Muslims. It was incredible to think of the partition of India, and yet, between 1945 and 1947, the force of circumstances made the Congress leaders accept the British proposal. Gandhiji was the only man who opposed it with all his heart. In his own way he described it as a thorn between brothers.

The price the Indian people paid for their freedom was a heavy one. Hardly had we woken to a brighter day of freedom when trouble started in the Punjab. Riots, killings, loot and arson were the order of the day. Millions of uprooted refugees fled from Pakistan. At that time Indira became deeply involved in the work of refugee relief and communal harmony. We all worked together in Delhi. This period was full of stress and anxiety. Some of us were engaged specially in taking care of our Muslim refugees who had fled their homes in fear. We worked directly under the guidance of Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru. Many who later became well-known political figures were in our group: Sucheta Kripalani, Sushila Nayyar, Aruna Asaf Ali, Mridula Sarabhai, and others. Many institutions came into being in Delhi and other places in 1947-48. Kasturba Niketan, the Swaraj Bhawan, Children's National Institute at Allahabad and the Cottage Industries Emporium, which was started as a sale centre for handicrafts produced mainly by women refugees from the Punjab.

Lady Edwina Mountbatten headed the official Refugee Relief Council and a tremendous organization with the Ministry of Rehabilitation functioned under the Government, but a large band of men and women worked with great dedication under a non-official organization where the inspiration and guidance came from Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru personally. I had the privilege of being in charge of the Purana Qila Muslim Refugee Camp.

Jawaharlal Nehru's first residence as Prime Minister was on York Road. This was a privately owned house and is now the residence of the Italian Ambassador. It was from this house that Jawaharlal Nehru guided the destiny of the newly born free India.

Since my husband was working with the Foreign Affairs Ministry, we met Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira frequently. To begin with, Indira was somewhat shy, aloof and retiring. She also did not keep good health. She was busy bringing up her children and seemed to need time to adjust to her new habitat and a new way of life.

After a time, Jawaharlal Nehru moved into his official residence on Teen Murti Marg. It was here that Indira started yet another chapter in her life. This house was a rambling mansion with a full staff of cooks, butlers, housekeepers, secretaries, gardeners, and many others. Indira was in over-all command. She started emerging from seclusion and became active in the field of social work. She was interested in the welfare of children and helped to set up institutions like the Bal Sahyog and the Home for the Deaf and Dumb Children. She was also interested in the development of handicrafts, fine arts, dance, drama and music. Soon one saw her on a variety of committees and councils.

All this time she was rapidly developing and had also shed some of her aloofness. As time passed, one saw her appearing on the political horizon and becoming a constant companion to her father. By this time she had organized the routine for her two sons. She had set up her own apartment in a wing of the big Prime Minister's House. Gradually she set up a small office for herself with a young woman secretary to handle her mail and engagements. Soon it expanded into a big complex and more and more helpers and paid secretaries appeared on the scene.

Rightly or wrongly, rumours spread that in order to reach Jawaharlal Nehru one had to go through Indira. Indira became greatly sought after, both on her own and as a channel for contact with the Prime Minister. In those days one often saw Ministers, Chief Ministers, Governors, Congress bosses, Congress workers, social workers, artists, dancers and musicians all waiting in an unending procession for interview with "Indiraji". She certainly relieved her father of many unnecessary interviews. This was also the time when the Prime Minister started taking her abroad on official visits, and occasionally sent her on goodwill missions to various countries.

Indira's image by now was well projected on the national scene and she was getting known abroad. The preliminary preparation and training for Indira, the leader, was going on in a smooth and natural manner. I saw Indira grow in stature and maturity. The years between 1950 and 1964 were years in which she passed through many phases — both inwardly as well as in the outward modes of her personality. She seemed to be seeking or groping for what she really wanted to be or what she wanted to

become. She appeared at public meetings and rallies to speak for the Congress. During the First General Elections, she addressed hundreds of election meetings throughout the country and yet kept out of the essentially official positions in the Congress. Then suddenly she became a member of the Working Committee, the highest organ of the National Congress, and the Central Parliamentary Board. The road was cleared, or was already paved for her to walk up to the rostrum.

In 1959 Indira was chosen for the Presidentship of the Congress. She showed great dynamism and during her short term of office she made it evident that she had a will of her own. Her term of office as the head of the Congress organization was historic. Kerala, which was a stronghold of the Communist Party of India, fell to the Congress. Her father adoringly called her the boss.

In 1960 Indira faced a great tragedy in the death of her husband, Feroze Gandhi. Feroze had also been emerging as an outstanding parliamentarian. Both husband and wife were ascending the ladder in their own fields of activity, when suddenly Feroze was struck by a second heart attack. Indira was away in Kerala handling an explosive political situation. She flew back immediately the same night to be by her husband's bedside.

Feroze lived for a few hours to say his last fond farewell to Indira. He was dead in the early hours of the morning. She was a picture of grief when I saw her standing at the door of the room where Feroze lay dead at the Willingdon Nursing Home. Jawaharlal Nehru looked shattered and helpless. Feroze's body was removed to Teen Murti House and we all kept vigil as crowds of people thronged to bid him a final goodbye. Indira was petrified with grief but poised as always. I still remember her clad in pure white, looking frail and delicate, walking absolutely erect with measured steps to lay a bunch of beautiful flowers on the dead body of Feroze. Time, however, helps to heal the wounds, and life continues. Soon she was off on an African goodwill tour and gradually once again returned to normal routine.

In 1962 India suffered a traumatic experience — Chinese struck on our northern and eastern borders. Unfortunately we were caught unprepared and suffered badly. Jawaharlal Nehru was shaken, but as a leader he was big enough to confess on the floor of Parliament that he had been living in a dream world. Indira worked tirelessly to help her father and to bring solace and comfort to the wounded *jawans* and officers. I did liaison for the Military Hospital in Delhi. The atmosphere in the country was surcharged with anger and frustration. At the same time it was evident that the whole country was willing to back Jawaharlal Nehru fully.

In the death of her father Indira almost lost an anchor. She faced a sorrow of great magnitude. She had no father, no mother and no

husband. Her two young sons were still at school. She had no crystal ball to peep into her future. But the immediate problems were to wind up Teen Murti House and to move out. Where?

Lal Bahadur Shastri was elected the leader of the Congress Party in Parliament and the second Prime Minister of India. He asked her to join his Cabinet. She was reluctant to accept. After some thought and discussion with friends and members of the family, she agreed. She was assigned the portfolio of Information and Broadcasting.

She left Teen Murti House — the house where for fifteen long years and more she had lived and played a vital role, where she had grown from a young woman to maturity, where her father made history, and where she played hostess to leaders from all parts of the world. Every corner of the house and the lovely grounds had associations for Indira. But she left the house and the memories of the past calmly and without shedding a tear. The Jawahar Jyoti shines brightly at Teen Murti to light Indira's political path.

The President of India, Dr Radhakrishnan, was kind enough to invite my husband and me to the swearing-in ceremony of Indira as Union Cabinet Minister. It was a quiet and short ceremony, but emotionally deeply touching for some of us who had been close to Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira. Dr Radhakrishnan congratulated Indira and put his arms round her shoulder. Though utterly composed, her eyes looked moist.

So much happened in the space of barely two years. Lal Bahadur Shastri's Prime Ministership came to an abrupt end by his sudden and tragic death. After Shastri, Indira's name for leadership was on the lips of all the senior Congress bosses. She was the chosen one. In one sense she was a way out of the impasse. There were too many contenders, but she was different and a class by herself.

Indira Gandhi became the first woman Prime Minister of India and the third Prime Minister in succession to Nehru and Shastri, on January 24, 1966. Years of training, shouldering a variety of responsibilities, travel, work and assistance to her father, culminated in her assuming the leadership of the Government of India. There was spontaneous affection and genuine admiration expressed throughout the country. People felt she had stood the test of fire and deserved the honour.

From now onwards Indira's life became a story of phenomenal success. She had fought her way through the deep political quagmire, boldly brushing aside political bosses and upsetting their apple-cart, fighting the 1967 elections almost single-handed but with rather deadly consequences. Many States were lost to the opposition. Even so, she kept her nerve. The slender majority at the Centre made her uneasy. But she found a way out. In 1971 she swept the party into power in the mid-term elections to Parliament. Within a year she had captured most of the

States. In between she was confronted with the problem of looking after ten million refugees from Bangladesh and a threat of war with Pakistan. She handled the situation calmly and with firmness, took every precaution for the security of the country, fearlessly supported the liberation of Bangladesh and led the country to victory over Pakistan.

I hope Indira will be the medium for translating into reality many of Jawaharlal Nehru's cherished dreams. Just before his death Jawaharlal Nehru addressed a meeting of the Congress workers in Delhi and took infinite pains to explain both the history and philosophy of socialism. I was present at this meeting and was astounded that he had to tell textbook facts to seasoned politicians. In the end he said: "Please remember, we cannot distribute poverty. We must first produce wealth and then distribute it justly and equitably." The meeting ended and Jawaharlal Nehru looked tired and fatigued. In his characteristic style he said, "What can I do? These are our people and this is the material I have to work with."

Jawaharlal Nehru knew Indira was made of strong fibre, perhaps stronger than his own, and also that she was a pragmatic and a sagacious politician while he was primarily a thinker. He was aware of his charismatic appeal, but he had also endowed Indira with an aura which other contenders to leadership lacked totally.

It is my hope that Indira's zeal, dynamism, vitality as well as her luck hold out to change the face of India. She has a stupendous task and still many miles to go before she fulfils her promises to the five hundred million people of India.

Indira Gandhi — The Soul of India

Manmohini Sahgal

"My kiss to the new soul of India," wrote the great poetess and freedom fighter, Sarojini Naidu, to Jawaharlal Nehru at the birth of Indira on November 19, 1917. How prophetic this description is! Indu has become not only the new soul of India but the soul of New India. She is symbolic of India's hopes and aspirations. Her name has become a synonym for courage.

Courage is the quality she has had right from childhood. It has been her watchword since then — be it giving a new direction to the country, be it the abolition of Privy Purses or bank nationalization, be it helping the refugees in the highest tradition of our ancient land, or be it creating history and geography by helping in the emergence of Bangladesh.

When she dedicated her birthplace, Anand Bhawan, to the nation, she narrated an incident: "It was my first quarrel with my father when I was very young. There was to be a bonfire of foreign clothes at our house and I wanted to attend it. He said it would be very late in the night and would be time for my sleep. But I insisted that I must go. He refused permission. I did not take it lying down and went to my grandfather. I told him that whatever be the circumstances I would go to the bonfire. He promised to take me with him." Perhaps Motilal Nehru saw the fire in the eyes of young Indu and knew how determined a person she was.

She was sent to Santiniketan for studies. The news of her arrival gave rise to whispers among the girls. "Oh, the grand-daughter of Pandit Motilal Nehru whose clothes are sent to a Paris laundry." "She must be very haughty." "A real princess expecting us to serve her with folded hands." But when the girls saw her, they rubbed their eyes unbelievably. She was so simple, so shy, so unassuming.

Her mother's health took a turn for the worse. A telegram was sent to Gurudeva Tagore requesting that Indu be sent back to Allahabad. Gurudeva called Indu and offered that a teacher might accompany her as the journey was long and tedious. Indu replied, "I shall go alone. I shall not need any help." Indeed, "Ekla Chalo Re" (Go Alone!), the famous poem of Tagore, has been her inspiration.

She wanted to join the Indian National Congress at the age of 13. Her enthusiasm for the freedom struggle was boundless. She went to the Congress Office but was refused membership. "You are too young, or come when you are 21 years of age," she was told. "Everyone — man or woman — young or old, has a right to serve the country. I shall create my own Congress," she declared. A children's brigade was formed. The first resolution was that the adults were prohibited to join it! She asked her mother: "By what name shall I call my brigade?" "*Vanar Sena*, just as the monkeys helped Rama to conquer Demon Ravana, you should help Gandhiji." Her face brightened.

The foreigners have been driven out. Now she is trying to drive away poverty, ignorance and social injustice.

"Children are the citizens of tomorrow, they are the wealth of a nation," etc., are slogans one often hears. But Indira Gandhi took concrete steps to help the children to develop their all-round personality. She created the Indian Council of Child Welfare, established Bal Bhawans and gave a direction to the Children's Film movement.

Jawaharlal Nehru's love for children is proverbial. Indira Gandhi's love for the youth and her expectations of them to take the country forward are becoming proverbial. In ancient times, only the sons of kings and the like were allowed to participate in the affairs of the country. Now our Constitution gives this right to all young men and women on their reaching the age of 21. In our *lokatantra* every one of us is a king and the ministers govern the country on our behalf as the servants of the people. This realization is to be instilled in the minds and hearts of the youth of today if we do not want our Welfare State turned into a farewell state. The "Honour the Youth" movement seeks to achieve this. Commending this noble movement with its far-reaching effects, Indira Gandhi, as Prime Minister, wrote to me: "I always welcome any programme for the young people, for the country's future depends on them — not only on their quality but on the extent to which they feel involved in the affairs of the country. In their impatience, some of them take to the path of destruction and violence, and some tend to live superficial lives, not realizing that both these paths delay the achievement of a better life for them and the creation of a better world. The nation is facing many grave problems. These are trials of our unity and our strength. The understanding and co-operation of young people will go a long way to help us to meet this situation."

The Cultural Film Society, a voluntary body of which I am the Executive Chairman, has made an interesting film about her. Aptly called *Indira Gandhi — the Soul of New India*, the film reveals some little-known facts about the well-known personality of Indira Gandhi.

She was and still is very graceful, like a nymph in deep woods. She started learning Manipuri dancing at Santiniketan and would have been able to continue. Very few know that it was she who started the folk dancing programmes which are a feature of the Republic Day celebrations in Delhi. Again, mountaineering in our country owes her a lot.

Her regard for the feeling of others is amazing. Before Independence, when she was in England, she once took the young daughter of her landlady to a film show. The film was rather frightening. The young girl said: "Miss Nehru, if you are frightened, please hold my hand." Indira held the hand of the frightened child giving her the feeling of confidence. A few years ago, my daughter Anjali was getting married. In spite of a very busy schedule, Indira offered to decorate the bride. She came hours earlier, not as a guest but as a member of the family, to assist in the behind-the-scenes work entailed in our elaborate Indian weddings. Later,

when my second daughter, Saloni, was to be married, Indu decorated her as well.

How I remember the day, January 24, 1966, when Indira Gandhi took the oath as Prime Minister. Dr Radhakrishnan insisted that I attend the ceremony at the Rashtrapati Bhavan. I went there along with Krishna Hutheesing. After the ceremony we went to 1 Safdarjang Road, residence of Indira Gandhi. All were in the dining room taking tea when someone observed that it was my birthday. Indu immediately put her cup down and went to a sideboard which was laden with flowers. She selected two nice roses and presented them to me. It should have been me giving her flowers on her becoming the Prime Minister. Her gesture was sweet and unforgettable.

Some people find her reserved and very formal. In reality she is shy and does not push herself forward. During the Interim Government period, Jawaharbhair used to give parties. She would stand in a corner, often alone. She had a lonely childhood when the adults of the family were busy with the freedom struggle and frequently in prison. Anand Bhawan was the hub of the political activities, with all the great leaders of those days coming and going. She was left to her own devices. She developed a sense of deep thinking. She views men and matters in their correct perspective. She is not carried away by what a man professes but what he does. When her mother was arrested, Jawaharlal wrote a letter to her in which he quoted a couplet from the famous Sanskrit treatise, *Panchatantra*: "For the village, the individual; for the country. the village; for humanity the country; and for the truth humanity should be sacrificed."

Her aim is to take the country to the haven of freedom where, "the mind is without fear and the head is held high."

The path she is showing, if followed, will surely lead us to that haven of prosperity.

To Indira, with Love

Gertrude Emerson Sen

Trivial personal reminiscences seem rather absurdly out of place considering the important part Indira has played in all her adult life in Indian affairs, first as confidante and companion to her father and hostess in his house after Jawaharlal Nehru became Prime Minister, and now herself as Prime Minister, responsible for steering the ship of state past many shoals and rocks towards that goal she clearly envisions — of less poverty and greater equality and a better life for those in the greatest need. Yet, past associations with Indira make her far more real than that impersonal sari-draped figure so familiar to millions, standing up in an open car, throwing flower garlands to the children and greeting the crowds lining the streets with folded hands.

Perhaps a bit of historical narrative is necessary as a prelude. My first contact with the Nehru family, which eventually came to include all of them, was on a memorable night in Calcutta in January 1934. As advisory editor for the American magazine *Asia*, as soon as I learned that Jawaharlal Nehru had come to Calcutta, I had requested an interview, and was asked to come to a house in the southern part of the city at 9 p.m. My late husband, Boshi Sen, and I arrived promptly on time, but we were informed that Nehru was still having his dinner. Two minutes later, however, he was standing in the doorway, napkin in hand, apologizing for being late because he had only just returned from a big public meeting. Would we allow him only fifteen minutes more to finish his dinner? Then he reappeared, accompanied by his wife Kamala. His manner was unruffled, unhurried, gracious, though he must have known what was in store for him. Delhi had already been informed that the speech he had made that afternoon was highly "seditious", and that, as by far "the most dangerous element at large in India", Jawaharlal Nehru should be immediately arrested and tried.

About the article or articles I hoped to persuade him to write for *Asia*, well, he did not see how he could possibly find time at present for any writing. He was heavily involved with the Indian National Congress affairs, and his first task on leaving Calcutta would be to organize relief work in the vast devastated area of Bihar, which had suffered a major earthquake a few days earlier. However, in case *Asia* would be interested in publishing any of a new series of his Letters to Indira, all written from prison, then I might get in touch with his sister Vijayalakshmi Pandit, who would have his full authority to make any suitable arrangements on his behalf. It was a far-sighted suggestion. He had no sooner returned to Allahabad from Calcutta than the police were on the doorstep of Anand Bhawan, and he was brought back to Calcutta for trial, and sentenced to two years in gaol — his sixth or seventh term! There was no question of relief work in Bihar, but he and Kamala had at least been able to stop off briefly on their way home to see Tagore, and arrange for Indira's admission to Santiniketan.

In succeeding months and years our friendly relations with Mrs Pandit continued to grow. She visited us in our little rented house in Calcutta, and invited us to be her guests at Anand Bhawan when we were returning to Almora in the Himalayas, where my husband was developing the Vivekananda Laboratory, devoted to research in plant physiology and crop improvement. Later, when Ranjit Pandit acquired the beautiful Kali Estate some fourteen miles higher up in the Himalayas beyond Almora, exchange of visits became fairly frequent. It was Mrs Pandit who managed by devious routes known only to the inner Congress workers to get a number of articles by Jawaharlal safely through to *Asia*, past the censors who invariably held up the originals sent by ordinary mail. The most significant among them was one entitled "The Parting of the Ways", published in November 1940. The Second World War was on. India had been declared a participant without consultation and without any promise of freedom when the War was won, and only a vague declaration of future Dominion Status well hedged in with safeguards. In his smuggled article, Nehru issued an ultimatum: "We want Independence, and not Dominion or any other status." And that independence was to come at last seven years later, on August 15, 1947.

With her father more often in than out of prison, and her mother, a victim of tuberculosis spending a good part of her time in sanatoria, Indira was either hustled off to one school or another, or hustled off to stay with relatives or friends and once with Gandhiji. Nearly everybody she knew was deeply involved in the freedom struggle. There was no such thing as peaceful family life. Individuality was submerged in the much wider concern for India.

With the Pandits often at Kali, at least for a few of the summer months, and Jawaharlal three times transferred to the Almora District Jail, the ties of friendship grew stronger. Kamala had been removed to the Bhowali Sanatorium, half way between Almora and Kathgodam, but her condition became worse, and it was decided that she should be taken back to Germany again in the hope of better treatment. Indira joined her there and five months later Nehru's sentence was suspended so that he, too, might fly to the bedside of his ailing wife. Another watcher by that bedside was a young Indian from Allahabad, an old friend of the family, Feroze Gandhi.

On her return from Switzerland, Indira came one summer to stay with her aunt Mrs Krishna Hutheesing at Snow View Estate just outside Almora, and it was there that we met her for the first time. My impression was of a shy, rather frail-looking person, but with two obstreperous little nephews. Apparently, with everybody else only too ready to do all the talking, she might well have felt overwhelmed! That she had a will and mind of her own, however, soon became clear enough. Against the wishes of the whole family, including her father, all of whom were

worried about her health, she had decided to go back to Switzerland and on to Oxford, and back she went.

Many years later we suddenly received a message that Nehru, Indira, Feroze and Rajiv, then I imagine a little over a year old, and the Danish housekeeper and friend, Anna Ornshott, who had lent a willing hand to perform any required service for the Pandit family or the Nehrus, would be passing through Almora on their way to Kali and would stop off for lunch with us if convenient. It had been raining hard all morning, and the sky was still heavily overcast. We wondered if the road to Kali, never in very good condition, would be passable. But a chance for holiday together in the mountains was too rare to be postponed, and after lunch the party set off, only to return after an hour or so, having found the road completely blocked by a number of fallen trees. We hurried to the gate of Kundan House to welcome them back, a servant carrying a big umbrella. Nehru, who was carrying Rajiv in his arms, ordered him to hold it over the baby. "He is the only one who matters," he said. We then had something of a scramble to try to rearrange our one guest room for so large a party. Nehru, with his usual disregard of personal comfort, insisted on appropriating the camp-bed hastily set up in the dressing-room, and the others disposed themselves as best as they could in the single room. At any rate, we had a gay evening, such contingencies having no significance for those accustomed to the hardships and uncertainties of the freedom struggle. The road for once was rapidly cleared, and the next day they left to continue the interrupted holiday at Kali.

These interludes were few and far between. Nehru once remarked that the only time he felt really free was when he was a few thousand feet up in an aeroplane, where nobody could reach him. Indira had by then begun to feel all the pressures of being practically citizen number 2. For a while, when Feroze Gandhi was managing the revived *National Herald*, they moved to a small rented house in Lucknow, where we had lunch with them one day. "I am tired of living in a goldfish bowl," she complained, "and it is not good for the children." But soon enough she was back in Delhi, with more responsibilities than ever.

We had hurried back from almost a year abroad when the day for Independence was finally announced. We listened on the radio to the moving midnight address of Nehru on the "Tryst with Destiny" and set out on the 15th morning by car for India Gate and Rajpath. Though we had seat numbers and a proper car parking number, we could not get anywhere near the place. Milling crowds were spilling everywhere, climbing over seats, pushing and shouting. We finally got down and joined them. All of a sudden we came across Indira just being pulled by a security guard to a spot of comparative safety near a flag-pole. She had been knocked down by the crowd! "They walked all over my

stomach", she remarked ruefully when she saw us. I felt apprehensive, watching how the crowds greeted their newly won freedom. There was no atmosphere of real joy, just a kind of unthinking mob hysteria. Complete indiscipline, all controls thrown to the winds! Those committed to that "tryst with destiny", who would now have to guide the country, must have had anxious thoughts about the future. But worse was to come. We attended a garden party given by the American Embassy the next afternoon. Indira came up to us and in a low voice said, "Papa is very worried. News has come through that riots have broken out in Lahore, and the worst part of it is that the police are taking sides." The tragic massacres had already begun, indeed, and within a week, as the first refugees began pouring into Delhi with their horror stories, Delhi, too, was aflame. But we had left a day earlier for our peaceful Almora.

Indira now had to assume all the responsibilities of running the house for the Prime Minister, and, besides all the formal entertainments, she herself was involved in endless committee meetings. Whenever we were in Delhi, however, we were invited to breakfast, lunch, tea or dinner. Noticing that Nehru's white *khaddar* collar was badly frayed, one day my husband took Indira to task. He thought she ought to look after the Prime Minister better, and see that his clothes were properly cared for. "But Unele Boshi," she said in self-defence, "you have no idea how difficult he is! He won't let anybody touch his clothes, not even the bearer. What can I do?" Her obligations never ceased, no matter how she herself might be feeling. A toothache, a backache, a toeache might be ignored, but for quite a long time one was distressed to find her wearing a high stiff white surgical collar to support her neck, as a result of some trouble with the bones.

One afternoon we were having tea with her, back in 1956, and we mentioned that we were leaving for Assam that night, Boshi having been invited to make an agricultural survey of the NEFA area and give suggestions for possible agricultural development. "I am also going to Assam tomorrow morning for some Congress work," she announced. "I have a plane at my disposal, and am only taking my secretary along. There will be plenty of room. Why don't you come with me?" Of course we accepted with alacrity, and my husband hurried off to cancel our rail tickets. At Safdarjang airport early the next morning, I found an Indian lady in a light blue chiffon sari walking up and down. "Are you also going to Assam?" I asked her. "Yes," she replied, and added after a moment, "I am the co-pilot." I was naturally astonished, and we had some conversation about the sari, which I thought might not be very convenient as the costume for a pilot. She agreed with me, but said, the pilot thought it looked very nice for an Indian lady pilot to wear a sari! It was a smooth trip, with a brief halt at Allahabad, and we all felt very relaxed, that is, I did, until I was invited to come up to the pilot's

cockpit. We were just passing the Everest, which he vainly tried to point out to me, but I was unable to distinguish it among the hundreds of snowy peaks tumbled together all along the northern horizon. Then he suddenly asked me if I would not like to take the controls for a minute! Horrified, I emphatically refused. Perhaps one part of my brain did know that since the plane was set on its correct course, my hand on the stick would not have deflected it, but the very thought of my occupying the pilot's seat with the precious cargo of Indira Gandhi and my husband there behind me in the plane half frightened me out of my wits.

Besides these happy memories of Indira over the years, there are also those of a different kind. As we were arriving late one afternoon in Delhi by our faithful station-wagon, we found that beyond the Jamuna Bridge there was a diversion of traffic and long lines of cars were all streaming in one direction. What was it all about, we wondered. Who was the VIP? We were shocked to hear that this was the funeral procession of Feroze Gandhi on its way to the burning-ghat. At the Prime Minister's House the following morning I sat among the ladies in a back room, while solemn Vedic chants were being intoned. Indira sat there among us in her white sari, looking fixedly at her lap, solitary and alone in the midst of the crowd. She kept twisting and untwisting the handkerchief she held, and then twisting it up again, the only outward sign of the deep emotion within.

And then came the unforgettable day when we heard over the radio that Jawaharlal was seriously ill, that all sorts of people were rushing to the Prime Minister's House to make inquiries, and, after a short time, that the great patriot, the hero, the maker of modern India, was no more. Stunned, we realized that it would be impossible to reach Delhi even in time for the cremation. We left the following day, and went almost immediately to the house. The familiar reception hall was filled with silent mourners. If anyone tried to carry on a subdued conversation, it jarred intolerably on the listeners. Mrs Pandit, her sister, and Rajiv occasionally walked through the room, greeting friends and acquaintances with forced politeness. Once Indira appeared briefly in the doorway, Indira Priyadarshini, looking wan and forlorn.

In the years that have passed since then, and after her election as Prime Minister following the death of Lal Bahadur Shastri in Tashkent, the burdens that have fallen to her lot have multiplied manifold, but so, it seems, has her strength to carry them. In the midst of an incredibly busy life, she yet retains, as her father did, the capacity for gracious human expression. At the time of my husband's death a year ago, a personal message about him by her was broadcast by All India Radio, and she wrote me a long letter of sympathy, but I was surprised and deeply touched to receive a totally unexpected note from her in the midst of the December war with Pakistan. "As the temperature is falling, my

thoughts go to you. It must be very cold in Almora. I wonder if you are coming to Delhi in winter? I hope you are well." For her to spare a thought for me in those circumstances was almost incredible.

In May of this year Indira was due to spend a few hours in Almora on her way back from a two days' rest period in Kausani. She had asked to have a quiet lunch with me, and after lunch I insisted on her lying down for a few undisturbed moments, just as we had made Jawaharlal Nehru lie down when he came to have lunch with us on June 15, 1945, the day he was released from the Almora Jail from his last and longest prison sentence. Rather unwillingly she agreed but, then, just like her father, she reappeared after barely half an hour to keep to her schedule of appointments. "How on earth do you manage to survive this constant wear and tear of being endlessly on the move?" I asked her. "I don't feel tired at all as long as I am moving," she replied, "but the minute I get back to Delhi and sit down, then I feel a little tired."

I believe the secret of her strength and endurance is her inward vision, her will and determination to see that the social and economic changes in India initiated by Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru are carried to fruition while she is still here to carry them out. The dream is for amelioration of the poverty of the masses and the removal of inequalities.

Almora, August 15, 1972

Congratulation

Dorothy Norman

1949-72, New York, New Delhi, Washington, London, Brussels, New Delhi, New York, New York. . . . The memories crowd one upon the other.

The oft-told tales of childhood — of growing up — have become legend. The legend, based on truth and not make-believe, is moving. It is bound to be. That is why the life has become legend.

From the moment I first meet her, as she steps from the aeroplane in New York in 1949, I like the clear, grave gaze. And the sudden delight illuminating the intelligent eyes. No nonsense. No sense of self-importance. Always a naturalness and dignity. And how swift her understanding.

Among the early remembrances: Nothing she says is off the record. She has nothing to hide. She does not pretend to believe what she does not believe.

1952 — India: I write it in a small note book: "She has the capacity to lead. Not because she is Nehru's daughter but because she possesses the talent in her own right. Behind the disarming modesty, the genuine reserve, she believes in herself with a beautifully selfless self-respect."

And then, year by year, the sure development. The decisions springing from her whole being. She has that rare gift: her wholeness is able to see things whole.

Fearlessness develops early. When she is nine, Jeanne d'Arc is her heroine. When she is only a little older, she organizes a political movement herself, a movement of children, to help the Congress Party in its fight for liberty.

The pattern repeats itself. There is participation in student activities in England — explaining India, the India that wants independence. She makes friends for India. There is the work with women volunteers in India, for the All-India Congress Party. There are countless committees, meetings, chairmanships. Endless organizing. Jail. (It is so easy now to forget the family's long imprisonments, the sacrifices made by all seeking their country's freedom.) And then the arduous campaigning. First for others.

After Partition there is the rushing out to stop altercations between Muslim and Hindu. There is the day, driving around a refugee camp, when she sees a crowd chase a man, her reaction is automatic. She runs into the crowd barefoot. No one knows who she is. She cries out: "You are not going to kill that man." People reply: "We can kill him if we like!" "You can, but I don't think you will." The man is not killed.

"How brave you are." "No," she insists, "I just do what needs to be done."

It is ever the same. There is a taxing job to be undertaken. Undertake it. There are demanding new projects to be carried out. Get on with them. The courageous decisions as Prime Minister do not emerge out of thin air. They are an integral part of a logical continuum.

The legend comes into being because the facts bear repeating. An extraordinary child, girl, woman. Like her father before her, she is a public figure but retains a private face. She has the artist's eye. She wants more beauty in the world. For everyone. More well-being. For everyone. She loves democracy. She continues to carry on her quiet battle for an unpolluted, peaceful world.

Indira Gandhi possesses an enormous fund of common sense. She does not say with false pride: "I am India's Prime Minister." When she is elected, her words are shining: "I have become India's *first servant*."

What a remarkable instinct the people of modern India have had about who should be their leaders. Gandhi. Then Nehru. Now Indira Nehru Gandhi. *A Happy Birthday* for 1972 and for many more years to come.

As Congress President

U.N. Dhebar

I remember the day in 1955 when Lal Bahadurji and myself, after assessing the situation, thought it advisable to introduce to the party forum at the highest level for active work a few persons who were likely to be really useful. We had thought of about a dozen names; including that of Indira Gandhi. As a part of that effort we both approached her to take over the responsibility of the Youth and Women's Section in the All-India Congress Committee and to join the Working Committee. She was already overburdened. She had to look after her family and the Prime Minister of India who was a world figure, and more than that she had to manage the Prime Minister's House. We could persuade her with great difficulty.

In July 1958, I decided to withdraw from the presidentship of the Congress, having done already four years, and wrote to Panditji accordingly. It was in October that he yielded to my desire. I had suggested in the letter the names of a few younger persons who could take over from me. Indira Gandhi's name was one of them.

Here, again, she gave her consent, but with great difficulty, after the Working Committee had taken a decision to that effect. She took over on February 8, 1959, and remained Congress President till January 1960. During the period of her presidentship I was associated with the work of the Congress as a member of the Working Committee and the Central Parliamentary Board. I was also the chairman of the Subcommittee on Planning appointed by the Working Committee. I was called upon to provide basic socio-political data for the Third Plan. I also came to be placed in charge of the election in Kerala because of the illness of Lal Bahadurji who was handling it in the initial stages. This gave me an opportunity to work in close association with Indira Gandhi.

As Congress President she had certain advantages. First of all, she was in much the best position to know her father's mind intimately. It was Jawaharlal Nehru who was bearing the brunt not only of running the Government of the biggest democracy in the world, but also of providing a philosophical base to the new policies that he had been instrumental in giving to the biggest and the oldest political organization in the country. Anyone who worked with him knew what a crushing burden it was. Running a democratic machine is not merely manipulating votes by promising favours and boons. In the first instance one requires to have a clear philosophical grasp of the policies which should be the basis of the party programme. How difficult it is to formulate a basis can be seen from three instances. It took three years of discussions before the Karachi Resolution on Industrial Policy was passed in 1932 and then too it led to the formation of a separate pressure group called the Congress Socialist Party. Again, it was not possible to come to a clear decision about the goal of the country after freedom. It was mentioned in general terms as the "attainment of a

co-operative commonwealth.” It took years of discussions before we came to concretize it as “Democratic Socialism” in 1955. Again it took us five years more and fifty hours of active discussions in Ooty in 1959 to concretize our ideas on socialism in terms of an active programme. Next Panditji had to think of establishing and providing an institutional set-up on which we could depend for winning the help and support of the people. Finally, after everything was said and done, there was need for a continuous evaluation of what was happening. It was an education to work with Panditji. Working Committee meetings in those days never lasted for less than two full days and we invited the ministers to place their problems in advance before us and we also placed our problems before them. Panditji was generally the last to speak, so that he had before him a good view of a cross-section of the country’s opinion. Indira Gandhi’s association as Congress President was thus helpful in remaining in touch with Panditji’s mind and keeping him also in touch with this cross-section of public opinion.

On assuming charge, Indira Gandhi’s first concern was to attend to the elections in Kerala and the problems created by the States Reorganization Commission. They were not easy problems. The bigger bilingual State of Bombay had not settled down. Rajendra Babu, who had been on a visit to Maharashtra, returned with an impression that that State would continue to be in great turmoil and it should be divided into two States. Someone had to take the lead, and as the Congress President Indira Gandhi took up the task in right earnest and pushed it through to the end, knowing fully well how strongly Morarjibhai and myself felt about it. Support from Parliament to bifurcation was assured and so also of the bulk of the Central leadership. But a few of us felt that India’s interest could be better served if there was some equality in the size of the States. In other words we felt that either we should have big States or we should have small States. India was not America. Already there was a great degree of regional disparity, and disparity in the size of States might prove to be an additional factor in increasing disparities. The Working Committee in 1956-57 had, therefore, opted for bigger States, and even for West Bengal and Bihar forming one composite State. The excess of population in West Bengal then could have found an outlet in the sparsely populated areas of Chhota Nagpur. Uttar Pradesh was itself a big-sized unit. Punjab with Himachal Pradesh was an equally big unit. So also were Andhra, Mysore and Madras. The only question was in relation to Gujarat, Orissa and Kerala. West Bengal and Bihar, however, could not adhere to the decision of the Working Committee. That made the bulk of the leadership at the top in the Congress organization have second thoughts. In the circumstances, linguistic States became a logical conclusion. Once she realized this, Indira Gandhi did not allow

time to pass by. And before her term was out, the Working Committee took the final decision.

It was during her tenure as Congress President that the Government of India decided to take note of the mass upheaval against the Communist Government in Kerala. The upheaval was so spontaneous and widespread that no party could remain aloof. Congress did come in for criticism. But the then Congress President, the Congress Working Committee and the Central Parliamentary Board were all clear that the State Government had become thoroughly unpopular. It was trespassing on the Constitution by its arbitrary acts. Law and order were at the lowest ebb. Above all, the Government and the people were so ranged against each other that anything could happen. Here again the Congress President took a decisive stand and gave a clear lead to the party.

It was during these days that many Indian and foreign analysts could have a clearer assessment of Indira Gandhi's personality. One of the top-ranking British journalists described her to the people in United Kingdom as a manly personality in the form of a woman. Taya Zinkin described her as the only he-man in India.

One characteristic of Indira Gandhi's personality has been, and continues to be, that she knows her mind and does not shrink from acting. She believes it is better to act and face the consequences than not to act.

Indira Gandhi has the grounding of a lifetime in working with her illustrious father. India has not seen in the recent past a greater humanist than Jawaharlal Nehru. I doubt very much whether Indira Gandhi is concerned with the theoretical aspects of socialism so much as with its human content. When she assumed the responsibility of Congress President, her father, while congratulating her as father, colleague and follower, told her pointedly that the great office would prove a crown of thorns. Whatever may be said about the rights and wrongs of her actions in the recent past, I think that there is no doubt that she has pulled the country out of the rut of stagnancy and shown her worthiness to wear the crown.

The country stands at the crossroads of its destiny. It is difficult to prognosticate if it would be possible for Indira Gandhi to wade through her present difficulties without some kind of a ruthless or drastic legislative regimentation. Her lead will no doubt be endorsed by the majority in Parliament, for the alternative will be a complete collapse of democracy for ever. One is reminded of John Gunther's reminiscences of Roosevelt in *Roosevelt in Retrospect*. According to him, whatever the criticism against Roosevelt's New Deal, and however objectionable some of its features, still it was the only alternative for the dying American economy in the twenties. It is worth reading the volume on *The Hundred*

Days of Roosevelt's Administration and note the spirit in which both the legislature and the country responded to his call. The country knew where it stood. The country also knew that in the extraordinary crisis its Chief Executive had no other alternative but to resort to extraordinary measures.

What I have said is not intended to justify everything that has happened or may happen. But the great solace is that we have a new generation prepared to take on heavier responsibilities; and as a man belonging to the older generation, I think, while throwing a word of advice here and there, and sometimes using hard words also, I must wish it godspeed. I wish the best to the new generation which is shouldering heavy burdens under the leadership of Indira Gandhi.

Indira Gandhi and India

Gisela Bonn

Indira Gandhi is not only the daughter of a great father. Although she has never denied having been influenced in her political ideas by Jawaharlal Nehru, she would hardly be satisfied with the role of a mere successor. For long, she has developed her own and very specific profile. She does not like to be apostrophized as woman. She is the Prime Minister of India.

This is an office which nobody would envy her. To govern the Indian sub-continent with its 600 million people is one of the most difficult tasks in world politics. Does any one man, does any woman, have enough strength to carry this burden?

Indira becomes impatient whenever this question is raised. "I really do not believe", she says over and over again, "that it matters whether one is a woman or a man. One has to be a personality, that is what matters."

Much has been written about Indira's personality, but only a few have succeeded in really describing her, in analysing her, in bridging the distance which she has kept from others throughout her life. She certainly does not make it easy either to friends or foes to understand her.

Nobody knows how serious she was when she said, after her father's death in May 1964, that she wanted to abandon politics. But when, after Lal Bahadur Shastri's short term in office, Indira was elected Prime Minister, she took over office under different stars than her father had done. Nehru was supported by the will of millions of people who had jointly fought against something. This spirit of community continued, in principle, until his death, but Indira could not count on it any more. She had to programme the people for targets which were less spectacular, more sober than that of independence, which was surrounded by a halo. She could not promise paradise.

Wherever she goes, Indira Gandhi speaks of sacrifices and hard work, for without them India's economy cannot be developed, hunger and poverty cannot be removed. She must manage to solve the problems of everyday life, both in domestic and foreign policy. She has to deal with an international press which concentrates on the most depressing misery of the country and finds only a few appreciative words for India's development under the Nehru dynasty.

She is not the first aristocrat in history who professes socialism, the vision of a scientifically governed world in which economic progress is balanced with social justice. She wants to form what her father had in mind: a socialist and secular world, adapted to India. In her country's relations with other countries his political testament is binding for her: neutrality and peaceful coexistence.

Like her father the Indian Prime Minister lives in the field of tension between the hereditary, the acquired, the desired, the realized, and the imposed. Her personality is determined by her pride in India's past and a clear vision of the necessities of the nuclear age. She wants to create

transitions between tradition and progress, which guarantee a preservation of the ancient culture and profound philosophy but simultaneously untie the Indians from their mystic involvement and superstition. She wants to prepare her people for the twentieth and twenty-first century without taking away its identity. "History cannot be made by imitation", she says, "our transformation must come out of our own genius."

Until the years of serious crisis — 1974 and 1975 — even her political adversaries conceded her charisma. She puts the nation above parties, races, religions and castes. There is no doubt about the fact that the important Muslim minority, consisting of 60 million people, which is threatened over and over again by fanatically traditionalist sections among Hindus, is under her courageous protection. Who else except her could guarantee it? Indira, like her father and Gandhi, fights the tough struggle against the typically Indian communal thinking, the thinking in terms of small, isolated communities. She does not care whether someone is Hindu, Muslim, Parsi, Christian, Sikh, Jain or Buddhist. She sees the Indians in the overall context of the nation which was created by Nehru, and which she finds it her duty to hold together.

It is superficial to explain Indira's election victory of 1971 by the fact that there was no alternative. This election, which brought her a two-thirds majority, was the result of a legend which had simply made her the "Mother of India", the "Mother of the Poor."

Since Nehru led India to independence, there have never been such high expectations among the Indian people again, and reality was never again veiled so much by legend and mystical adoration. Was it Indira's fault alone that the legend is clouded by an inexorable everyday life, by economic misery? There are certain events which can be properly classified and corrected only in the course of a long history — and the Indian crisis of 1975 will be one of them. Indira has not acted in it alone. There have been partners and adversaries who are equally responsible. But not all of them have owned up to their actions in public as Indira has.

It almost appears that she does not want to allow herself what other women consider a matter of course. She does not wear any jewellery, any make-up. During office hours, she wears a simple cotton sari. Her motive is human tact — awareness of what is adequate and possible — more so than tactics of domestic policy.

Indira Gandhi does not want to be a woman who fascinates others. She is a politician who makes her way, who wants to convince others. In view of her ability of reacting sharply and acting quickly the prejudiced notion that Indians are inclined more to discussion than to action loses meaning. Her office sometimes requires solitary decisions, but she makes them rarely without having discussed them for a long time with her ministers and officials. An exception was the momentous decision to have

the state of emergency proclaimed in June 1975.

By the nationalization of banks in 1969 and other socialist measures Indira settled down "left of centre" and became the spokesman of the young, progressive generation. Ever since, some of her declared adversaries have called her sometimes a fascist and sometimes a communist. Neither the one nor the other is correct. During a parliamentary debate in July 1975, she tried once again to outline her political standpoint: "I do not hesitate to declare that I am not a doctrinaire socialist. I have my own version of socialism and my own ideas about what India and the Indian society should look like. My process is slower but a sure way to come closer to this aim."

In her social policy she has shown her hand long ago. She wants to give India something which it is still missing today: social justice. Whosoever describes this as an illusion will sentence millions of people to hopelessness. But how will Indira Gandhi remove India's main evil, poverty?

"It will take us a hundred years", she once said. Can India wait for hundred years? Will not people turn up who think that things can be done more speedily with a dictatorial regime than with democracy?

"I am deeply committed to democracy", Indira Gandhi told the author in 1971, during a television interview, "because nothing can be done and completed without the full support of the people. And how else could one achieve the support of the people if not by its involvement and participation? I really believe that something worthy of humanity, something humane can be achieved only by democracy."

"Reading history is good", her father once wrote to her from prison at Naini, "However, it is better to help making history."

Indira has made history, perhaps differently from what her father wanted, and more dramatically. Nehru had laid the foundation on which Indira was to build. For her this meant more than adding a few stones. It means transformation of an epoch in which people were interested more in religion, philosophy and art than in the alleviation of poverty. The transcendental shall no longer be the quintessence of all thinking. Indira wants to give priority to the preservation of life. That means a fundamental change of the Indian ideology, which is based on the fatalistic Karma belief. That means, from the beginning, a confrontation with the traditionalists. In 1966, when she was first elected Prime Minister, she was still depending on the old veterans of the Congress Party. Her second election in 1967 brought a serious setback. In 1969, she initiated a historic change by the dramatic division of her party into the "old" and the "new" Congress. By breaking off relations with the traditionalists, and on account of the crushing election defeat which she gave them in 1971, she enforced a changing of the guard, the change of generations, which Nehru may have wished secretly.

She did not reckon with the determination of the traditionalists to reconquer power, under the leadership of Jayaprakash Narayan, who set out from 1974, marched through the country, and preached a traditional way of life against her high-flying socialist and progressive ideas.

Many people think that she is cold, ambitious, and obsessed with power. Her absolute identification with her office easily leads to distortions to which some people are apt to be tempted.

One has to meet Indira in the family circle to discover her second, the private face. Whosoever sees her playing with her grandchildren recognizes the woman whose wishes and dreams do not differ considerably from those of other women, but who knows that she is not allowed to indulge her inclinations for a long time. A certain unrest reveals itself even in the most tender gesture.

Private hours in the garden are rare. Several times a month there are days of the open door. Whosoever has watched her once in these morning hours is surprised at her ability of listening to and concentrating on others. She has command over an instrument which cannot be defined by the word "propaganda". One discovers it when she speaks to the masses and captivates people without any pathos.

However, one question remains unanswered: What would happen in India if the hopes of the masses could not be fulfilled? Indira's opponent Desai said in 1971, after the overwhelming election victory: "We have crowned her with a garland of flowers, but in reality we have put a crown of thorns on her head." At that time already she knew that her coronation might easily turn into a crucifixion. But who knew then that, a few years later, a new Passion of India would begin with Indira's Passion? Throughout her life, Indira — as one of her advisers once said — remained "a very lonely person", a woman who depends on herself alone. She shares one knowledge with Nehru: that the price of the high office is loneliness and renunciation of comfort.

October, 1975

Indira Gandhi: A Realist

K.C. Pant

In a purely personal sense, there is bound to be some embarrassment in writing about a sensitive person. But Indira Gandhi's multifarious achievements are of such dimensions that purely personal considerations become irrelevant.

She is today the unquestioned leader of the Indian people. The weaker sections of our society instinctively pin their faith on her. Young people respond to her idealism and courage, her positive outlook on life and her emphasis on action rather than words. She in turn is extremely sensitive in handling the students and the youth. She has a rare capacity to identify herself with their problems and aspirations. In her, they see a leader who is genuinely interested in what they think and say, who does not approach them either with an all-knowing air of superiority or with a string of sermons or advice; a leader whose mind is ever-fresh and ever-receptive, a mind that has not fallen into a rut; a rational mind, which nevertheless has its roots in the well-springs of Indian thought and culture. She neither idealizes the youth nor admonishes them. If they rebel, she tries to understand the causes of this rebellion, and begins a dialogue with them to remove those causes through mutual understanding. This dialogue has been continuing for the last so many years with succeeding generations of young men and women and it continues today. That is the secret of her rapport with the young.

It is this ability to understand others and to communicate with them, the ability not merely to express sympathy but to take meaningful and purposeful action, that has won the confidence of both the minorities and the tribals. I was closely associated with the Prime Minister in the reorganization of the north-eastern region — a complex and difficult task. The discussion with the various tribal leaders dragged on for months and months. There were occasions when they ran into serious difficulties. But the difficulties were overcome. And such occasions brought out in bold relief the absolute confidence that all these diverse elements reposed in the Prime Minister. Actually it had less to do with her office than her personal equation with them. They trusted her. She in turn never failed to take their sentiments or difficulties into account.

It is these qualities of head and heart which have made Indira Gandhi a powerful unifying factor in a country so full of diversities. The same qualities characterize her relationship with the masses. I have had the good fortune of travelling with her widely in the country. As she moves through the unbelievably large crowds during her tours, one can sense a palpable bond, a silent communication, between them and her. She seems to reach out to them. I have often seen the faces of the people lining the streets light up with joy if they happened to get a good look at her. I think she is aware of the fact that to many of them this is an event in their life. In far-off places, it is an event which may not be repeated soon. She is therefore very sensitive about how she deals

with them. She always stops her car if she sees a group of people standing with garlands on the side of the road. She invariably makes a halt if children gather to greet her. When it gets dark, she puts an electric lamp in her lap and lets it light up the car so that people who have thronged to see her are not disappointed. One day when she had a bad cold I offered her the unsolicited advice that she should cancel her trip. Her reply was that in all these years she had never cancelled a tour programme on account of ill health. This symbolizes the rigorous discipline to which she subjects her public life.

I have touched on some facets of Indira Gandhi's personality as a leader of the people. But she is also a party boss and the head of a far-flung, complex, rule-bound and routine-oriented administration. These two roles bring out some other aspects of her personality. As a party boss, she has to mould the party machine and make it an effective instrument for the implementation of her policies. She has to keep it clean. She has to give a sense of direction to it and at the same time see that the pace of change is such as will enable the party to carry the wider spectrum of public opinion with it. Hers is today the final word in deciding the political strategy of the Congress, in determining the relationship with other parties and in projecting its image amongst the people. As Prime Minister, she has to use the administration as an instrument to give shape to her policies and programmes, and to implement them.

In both these capacities, her success depends on her handling of individuals. It can be said without doubt that this is an art in which she excels. A realist to the core, she is an excellent judge of human nature and of men. Her sizing up of persons is objective and frank. She has no time for idle arguments or doubting Thomases. If a decision is good, it is good enough to be implemented at once. Her use of silence is as effective as her use of words. She keeps herself extremely well informed. In political matters, no detail is worthless to her. She has the capacity to listen to all points of view without committing herself to any. In the ultimate analysis, the decisions she makes are her own. Events have shown that these decisions have been correct and just, directed for the common good. If today the people of this country have acquired a feeling of self-reliance, and the confidence that we can stand on our own without looking for external aid, it is attributable to the bold decisions taken by the Prime Minister during difficult and critical times.

With Indira Gandhi at the helm of affairs, India cannot be taken for granted. Both our friends and enemies know that she will neither suffer being patronized nor submit to being pushed around. This ensures stable friendships on the basis of equality and mutual respect. Her superb handling of the Bangladesh crisis has won the admiration of even our worst critics. Those who were about to write off India, thinking it

was a losing concern, suddenly woke up to the fact that India had emerged as a power which could not be ignored. The strategist who master-minded this transformation, the general who lent steel to our backbones, was none other than the Prime Minister.

Of late, she has been laying emphasis on improving the quality of life. Acutely conscious of the ecological hazards generated by certain pesticides, industrial wastes, over-urbanization, etc., she wants to save India from repeating the mistakes of the developed countries. Her restless and probing mind is ever in search of answers that fit the Indian situation. She wants to adapt and assimilate, not imitate or copy. She knows that poverty cannot be banished in a day but want must be eliminated. Her message has as much relevance to the India of today as of tomorrow. Let us improve the quality of life in our towns and villages. Let us make India clean. Let us eliminate slums. Let each home be adorned by the smiling faces of healthy schoolchildren. Let us build our society on values that set store not by wealth or position, but by a person's contribution to social good, to harmony and co-operation in our national life, to production and to enriching our cultural life. The people of India may not be rich, but the quality of their lives can be.

A Poet's Tribute

G. Sankara Kurup

It was in November 1966, if I remember right, that I had the good fortune to meet Indira Gandhi for the first time. I was then in Delhi to receive the first Jnanapith Award for my book of poems *Odakkuzhal*.

The sponsors of the Award, I came to know later, had approached the Prime Minister to participate in the function and give away the prize, considered to be the highest literary award in the country. But she had regretted her inability to do so owing to some reason and this was commented upon by the Hindi weekly, *Dinman*, edited by S.H. Vatsyayan. However, I thought it my duty to pay my respects to her and sought an interview, which was immediately granted. The day after the Jnanapith Award was presented to me by the scholar-statesman Babu Sampurnanand at a ceremonial function, I called on Indira Gandhi and presented her with a copy of *Odakkuzhal*. I found her extremely courteous and graceful. She readily autographed for me a copy of the book and it is one of my proud possessions today. What attracted me most was her firm, bold and yet graceful handwriting. It revealed something of her character — firmness and elegance, courage and charm. We thanked her and left Delhi carrying with us a happy memory.

A few months later, when the Government of India announced the list of national honours, my name was also found in the list of new Padma Bhushans. I do not know to what extent Indira Gandhi was responsible for this, but intuitively I felt that she certainly had a hand in it. My surprise was all the greater when a few days later she got in touch with me offering to nominate me to Rajya Sabha. I distinctly remember the day, for it was the birthday of my grand-daughter. Though I have never been a politician and had not sought to become a member of Parliament, I felt happy at this token of recognition that was received on a day of all-round happiness in the home. The recognition was not merely for my humble self but also for all the work I had done, and indirectly it was a recognition for Malayalam poetry and literature. I decided to accept the nomination.

In Delhi, as a member of Parliament I had better opportunities to observe Indira Gandhi at work, to know her better and listen to her often in the Rajya Sabha. It was indeed a treat listening to her. One felt as if the whole world was watching and listening to what was discussed there. She is a good parliamentarian. She is no orator, but she speaks elegantly and effectively. Her retorts even to such stalwarts like Bhupesh Gupta are classic. As she speaks, something of her deep-hearted sincerity and love for the whole country comes out spontaneously in her voice and registers in the minds of the listeners. Even the worst of her critics are silenced by her well-formulated arguments and outspoken comments.

Within the short span of six years she has been in office, Indira Gandhi has proved her tremendous capacities of leadership and statesmanship.

The prestige and popularity of the Congress were not rated high when she assumed its leadership in Government. The general elections in 1967 had clearly given an index of the popular feelings in this regard.

It was evident that unless something drastic was done to change the situation the Congress would be doomed. The old Congress tree was overladen with heavy foliage and wild growth of branches. It had to be trimmed and pruned. The controversial nomination of the Presidential candidate and the dramatic events that followed were perhaps a god-send opportunity. There were many friends who questioned the wisdom of the Prime Minister when she took the hatchet and started a single-handed operation of cutting down the overgrown branches and trimming the tree. The tree, shorn of its thick foliage, for a time looked desolate and forlorn. But soon new leaves sprouted one by one and in no time the tree was fully restored to its old glory. The critics turned admirers. The Congress regained its prestige.

After gaining a firm popular vote the Prime Minister directed her attention to the more important issues of the country's political and economic progress. She realized that the freedoms and fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution were really for the benefit of the ordinary men and women of the country and not for the enjoyment of a privileged few, whatever the interpretation given by jurists and courts of law. In a democracy, she recognized, the supremacy of Parliament should be safeguarded and wrong interpretations given to clauses of Constitution should not be allowed to block the path of progress.

The steps taken by her for setting things right are well known. The whole country has risen as one to support Indira Gandhi on these issues and this has gone a long way to enhance the prestige of the country and its Prime Minister.

In external affairs, similarly, the world has come to respect India and its Prime Minister for courage, fairplay and high sense of moral values.

While the armed forces of India were getting ready to meet any challenge from Pakistan on the Bangladesh issue, the Prime Minister went on a tour of world capitals, meeting leaders of big powers and other nations, explaining things to them, trying to convince them of the just cause of Bangladesh. Sitting in Delhi, not far from the ruins of the epic city of Hastinapur and the battlefield of Kurukshetra, I recalled passages from the *Mahabharata*. The long-drawn-out preparation for the just war on one side; the tireless pursuit of peace along with it. Before Dharmaputra finally called upon his brothers, relatives and allies to give battle to the Kauravas, he had not left a single avenue unexplored for a peaceful settlement. Lord Krishna himself was sent as an emissary of peace to the Kaurava court. It was only when there was no other course open to them but to take up arms that the Pandavas went to the battlefield of Kurukshetra.

Indira Gandhi similarly did everything within her power to settle the issue peacefully. For more than nine months she waited, hoping that the military authorities of Pakistan would realize the futility of the course they had taken, and expecting the world powers to influence Pakistan in the right direction. Her whirlwind tour of world capitals on a mission of peace was a final effort. It was only after exploring all possible alternatives and after Pakistan fired the first shots at us that she gave final orders for our armed forces to move into action.

It was indeed a thrilling experience to live in Delhi in those historic days and to watch at close quarters the quick transformation that took place on the political map of South Asia, the liberation of Bangladesh, the triumphant return of Bangabandhu to his people, and the vindication of our own policies of nonalignment, secularism and democracy in as convincing a manner as possible.

In all this the Prime Minister stood out as a tower of strength and leadership, the like of which our country has not witnessed in recent history. It was her privilege to prove to the whole world what her illustrious father and the Father of the Nation had stated several times but without avail, that religious faith furnishes no firm foundation for nationhood. The emergence of Bangladesh has exploded the myth of Jinnah's two-nation theory based on religion.

It is said that the first casualty in a war is truth. But the fourteen-day war we fought for the liberation of Bangladesh was an exception. There was no hypocrisy about it. We proclaimed to the whole world that we had absolutely no territorial ambitions. We fought out of a deep-felt sense of duty to our brethren of Bangladesh. And when they were free we stopped fighting in the western front also. Bangladesh was restored to its rightful owners. This is something that has seldom happened in world history. Indira Gandhi's leadership has won for India world-wide respect and appreciation, the full impact of which will be felt only in coming years.

A Portrait

Melville deMellow

My admiration for Indira Gandhi began when she unknowingly "threw me" during a commentary on the cremation of her illustrious father. Round that tragic pyre, colleagues, friends and admirers stood stunned and helpless, in a state of near paralysis. They wept quietly for the massive loss of a man who had somehow seemed indestructible. An old village woman, tears staining her cheeks, wanted to place a piece of sandalwood on the pyre. Some brushed her aside, others just turned a deaf ear to her request. No one would help her. And then, suddenly, out of that cluster of mourners stepped Indira Gandhi. She put her arm about the sorrowing old woman, led her up the steps to the pyre, and helped her fulfil her deepest desire. Her own deep sorrow did not prevent her from consoling another.

From that moment onwards, Indira Gandhi dominated my running commentary. She wore white and her face was set as stone, but she looked grief full in the face, and she took complete command of the last rites of a ceremony that had shocked the principal mourners into resignation and total stupor. I shall never forget her utter nobility in circumstances where one could have forgiven her any weakness, because she was so near to her great father. I saw this repeated at Triveni Sangam when his ashes were being consigned to the waters of the Ganga, Yamuna and the legendary Saraswati, and I knew then, somehow instinctively, that Indira Gandhi was in the mould of a great leader and she possessed the Nehru charisma in a large measure.

Today, the intelligence, quiet bravery and elegant refinement are in sharper focus but the courage remains, as always, indomitable. I recall her now addressing the jawans in a forward area — they were soon to go into battle. "I'm not here to replenish my courage. I have plenty of my own. I'm here to wish you good luck in the battle ahead." Indira Gandhi has been described by some as having "ice in her veins". She certainly has a will of steel which I think can be traced back to her childhood at Anand Bhawan, when the freedom struggle was at its bloodiest.

In 1919, Anand Bhawan was very much the eye of the hurricane and through its doors passed many freedom-fighters. Indira Gandhi was then a child and it must have been a traumatic experience for her to be deprived of her frocks — only to see them flung into the leaping flames of a bonfire, along with the expensive drapes and carpets and antiques of Anand Bhawan. Overnight, the "freedom slogans" replaced the lulling lullabies that soothed her to sleep and which she in turn sang to her pretty little dolls at the end of a day. At this impressionable age, she was to experience at dead of night the battering on the door and the raucous abuse by armed policemen, as they broke into her grandfather's mansion and dragged away freedom-fighters to jail under cover of darkness. This period of history also involved years of long and cruel separation from her parents, who were imprisoned in separate

jails. As a girl, she witnessed those cumulative experiences in discrimination that demoralize and outrage dignity. It stirred in her a compassion that smothered injustice. The iron was already deeply embedded in her young soul as she turned ten, but the will of steel was always enmeshed with a deep compassion.

This found an outlet in Allahabad itself, where she could be seen any morning cycling to the lepers, sprawled helplessly in the dust by the roadside, miles from Anand Bhawan. Her practical zeal brought solace to those unfortunate people. She had begun her assault on the barricades of discrimination and poverty. In Poona, it was the slum areas that she concentrated upon, and by the age of twelve, she had formed a children's wing for Gandhiji's Charkha Sangh — an association of handspinners.

When the non-co-operation movement exploded over India and there was an upsurge of popular resentment against British Rule, the women of India picketed liquor shops and prevented the sale of foreign cloth, when their menfolk were dragged off to jail. A grapevine of message-carriers was required to keep the leaders and the public in constant touch. Again, Indira Gandhi seized on the opportunity to do something practical and useful, something which required guts. She organized the *Vanar Sena* or Monkey Brigade. The passion and energy behind this movement greatly dismayed the British Raj, for they saw the next generation now equally determined to fight for India's freedom.

Indira Gandhi's courage is, therefore, not a newly acquired attribute, fashioned and fed by the power that stems from the office of the Prime Minister. It can be traced perhaps to a collection of incidents like the one that took place in 1930, when bayonets and bullets ploughed through a sleepy little village near her home, killing scores of innocent people. In those days it was suicide to be involved even remotely with the freedom struggle but Indira Gandhi took over some of the rooms of Anand Bhawan, turned them into hospital wards, rallied some of her friends who were taught how to take temperatures and administer injections, and tended the wounded till the professional doctors could creep in after dark.

There were many grave cases among the wounded that came under her care and Indira Gandhi recalls one, when she literally willed a young man to stay alive. She tells it this way: "The doctors could do no more. 'He cannot possibly live. Do what you can to make him comfortable,' they said. I made it an act of faith that this boy must live. He was the first patient in this house and if God would not allow him to live, I said, then my whole faith would be shattered. But somehow that faith was upheld — and the boy lived." Here we have the cold courage tempered with a dogged defiance, both acting as a shield for her greatest asset, compassion.

She was jailed along with her husband in 1942 during the Quit India movement. She used her incarceration for deep introspection and

the development of her inner resources. She was behind bars for many months. She looks back with pride to that struggle which took not only the British Government by surprise but also the menfolk of that era when the women of India came to the fore and took charge. "There was an avalanche of them," says Indira Gandhi. She also learnt that "fulfilment and happiness in life are not in security." One gets a true insight into the full meaning of that statement when she tells you of her thoughts while in jail: "We had no idea that we would be free in our lifetime. We thought that we were all there for life and that we would not even see freedom. Nevertheless, we did not say, 'We'll not see freedom, so to hell with the next generation. Let's enjoy ourselves.' Had we said that, we would not have won freedom."

Those days required a very special kind of courage, and much later in life, Indira Gandhi found herself facing a forest of "Go Back" placards in a city of South India, where she was to address a public gathering. She went to the nest of microphones and met the challenge head on. "These people are asking me to go back," she said in a firm but steady voice. "I am here, because of them. I was ill and my doctor advised me to cancel this engagement — but I knew some of you were against my coming, so I felt I had to come even though I was advised complete rest." She then began to tell the audience a few home-truths about the freedom struggle of which she had been part. "In India, the Congress party has faced bullets. We, the women, I am not talking about the men, I am talking about young girls, I am talking not only about progressive, working women, but women, who at that time were in *purdah* and who came fresh from their homes. They faced bullets, they picketed liquor shops, they picketed foreign cloth shops, they spent their lives in prison, they saw their families broken up. And that was the spirit that won freedom for India and that is the spirit which can now put India on a strong, democratic, progressive path." Indira Gandhi's voice was now choked with emotion, for she was now re-living her own experiences as a young woman. As the last words came over the loudspeakers, a great roar went up from the crowd. She carried everybody with her, including her detractors who now cheered her longer and louder than the rest! The "Go Back" placards were smashed by the very people who had brought them.

Indira Gandhi grew up in an environment and atmosphere which put duty to the motherland above all else. This patriotic zeal and passion is, therefore, not a newly discovered political expedient. It was there from a very tender age. "When I was a student," she says, "there was only one thing on my horizon and that was the freedom of India. We couldn't, no matter what we did, whether it was entertainment or study or work of any kind, think of anything else but freedom. There was only one thing we thought about and that was how to make our

country free, and what we could contribute towards the winning of freedom for India.”

Indira Gandhi has a surgically precise intellect and the single-minded determination, so necessary for the implementation of plans for India's progress. This was much in evidence as far back as 1959, when she was elected Congress President. Her boldness and incisive approach to the bifurcation of Bombay on a linguistic basis, and the creation of Gujarat and Maharashtra, brought to an end a chronic problem which had dragged on for many years. At that time, there were many who thought that because Jawaharlal Nehru had set his face against it, Indira Gandhi would never take an opposite line of action. They were to see equal vigour and independence of thought when the Five Year Plans were finalized during her presidentship of the Congress. Even though her tenure was brief, her impact on people and policies was dramatic and refreshing. She came out strongly on problems like untouchability, welfare of women and children, and the integration of the country. In this she appealed to and received substantial support from the opposition parties. We have seen this decisive approach again and again during her prime ministership. The problem of Punjab had defied solution for ten long years. Indira Gandhi removed that cancer in a remarkable demonstration of political surgery.

It is obvious, therefore, that Indira Gandhi has always moved in the political orbit of her own convictions and not in the shadow of her famous father. This, I believe, was the first massive miscalculation her opponents made when assessing her style and impact. She always had an image in Indian politics in her own right. You would see this happen time and again when she accompanied her father on visits overseas. In America, with all doors open to her in official Washington, she would slip away unostentatiously to visit self-help organizations for the physically handicapped and schools for mentally and physically retarded children. “She toured corridors lined with wheelchairs, classrooms where children learned with their crutches beside them, and health rooms where they received physiotherapy,” wrote a US correspondent who covered the State visit. “At one health-school, she became observer and teacher. In another classroom, she went to the blackboard and demonstrated how the characters of Sanskrit are formed and what they mean. She described the election process in India and talked about Indian schools.”

During Lal Bahadur Shastri's prime ministership, she was Minister of Information and Broadcasting. Here again, she brought a new look and style to an organization that was running out of ideas. Her first target was bureaucratic lethargy which had hobbled the All India Radio for years and then she began to lift talent out of the organizational inertia that was strangling it. It was Indira Gandhi who delved into the pitiable condition of staff artistes in a series of face-to-face interviews. But destiny beckoned, and she was not to stay long with the Information and

Broadcasting Ministry.

On January 19, 1966, Congress MPs gathered from all over the country to elect a leader. Indira Gandhi became Prime Minister, as widespread jubilation swept the country. She was sworn in on January 24, 1966. For the people of India it was a shift of gears and style. She was a link with the old but she throbbed with the dynamism of the new generation restless, eager and determined to catch up with the developed countries of the world. The rest is history — but history at high speed. She faced gigantic problems. It was the stark aftermath of the Indo-Pakistan conflict (1965). The economy was in shambles. Foreign aid had been frozen. Severe drought stalked the land. She tackled these problems with a tenacity which is so much part of her style today that people are inclined to take it for granted. Did India and the world expect less from Indira Gandhi? Maybe, at first, they did, on the ground that she was a woman and had her limitations. This was certainly never Indira Gandhi's opinion on the subject. To an American correspondent who asked her what it felt like to be a Prime Minister and a woman at the same time, she answered squarely: "I don't regard myself as a woman. I am a person with a job. In our Constitution, all citizens are equal, regardless of sex, religion, language and state and therefore I am just an Indian citizen and the first servant of the land."

The quality of courage has been the distinguishing features of her role in India's public life. While electioneering some years ago, she was hit by a stone full in the face while speaking. She never flinched but stood her ground like the toughest of the male species. With a bleeding nose she completed her speech and so shamed the miscreants that again the crowds rallied to her. And later, the votes followed like an avalanche.

Many pundits, national and international, have attempted to fathom what makes Indira Gandhi click. Their estimates range from the sublime to the ridiculous. Her many successes have been attributed to her "timing", "her ruthlessness", "her advisers", "her luck", "her kitchen Cabinet" and even her "horoscopes" and "soothsayers". I do not think Indira Gandhi needs any props. She is a born leader and she is unique. Here is a person who can be so touched by a newspaper item that she is immediately spurred into positive action, even though that item of news is such that most of us would permit our self-indulgent eyes to skip over. For Indira Gandhi, however, it becomes a mission. She says: "I was horrified by something that happened in Calcutta some years ago. A child had stolen a bicycle and was given a year's rigorous imprisonment by the court. A week before, in the same city, an important person, a man of means, I thought, had committed a big crime. He was given a sentence of only three months. And these two bits of news appeared side by side." Did Indira Gandhi turn the page and forget about the incident? Let's quote her again: "I decided to follow it up. I wrote

to the address of the brother of the boy and found that the boy had stolen the cycle because his mother had TB and they couldn't afford to get her medicine." And then, Indira Gandhi points the moral: "So we must somehow create an atmosphere, so that whether we are judges or lawyers or anybody, the whole problem has to be viewed with far greater understanding. We have to get this overall feeling about social welfare. It is not just a department — it is not like being in Finance or Home or something which is just a job. Here you are treating human beings."

This is why Indira Gandhi is serious about a slogan like "Garibi Hatao". She once summed up the main problem of India as being a very old one. "It is the problem of poverty and economic backwardness. Also the problem of a society which is emerging from feudalism into modernity. We have these old problems and we have some new ones which are created by development, by growth, and the changes which come about with them." Disparities in wealth are one of her main anxieties. She abolished Privy Purses and other special privileges of the Princes, nationalized banks, and seems determined to introduce land reform. She had led us to victory in a full-fledged war with Pakistan, gave sanctuary to ten million refugees while the world looked the other way, helped to liberate Bangladesh and then sent the refugees home again with pride and honour. She has stood up to the threats and pressures of the strongest nations in the world, and brought about a dramatic change in the power structure of the subcontinent and South-east Asia. At home, she has revitalized a sick political party, inspired a "green revolution" and has won sweeping victories at the polls for herself and her party, both at the Centre and in the States and Union Territories.

Today, she represents the undisputed voice of the country — a voice that is at all times steady, firm, but not bellicose. It is a voice that carries the conviction that India will not flinch nor falter in the face of threats and provocation. Indira Gandhi seems determined that this capacious land will go even further by demonstrating increasing equality of opportunity, social justice and a reasoned concern for the underprivileged. She is impatient with the postures and pieties of the past and this is refreshing.

Politics has taken on a youthful vigour since she has been at the helm. And because she is firmly in the riding seat, she no longer needs the encomiums of her admirers and can ignore the dark prophecies of her detractors. She is pure deodar amidst trees and inside her throbs the essence of those immortal lines:

"Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free —
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore."

Indira Gandhi means what she says when she talks about removing

poverty. She is deeply conscious of the yawning gap between the rich and the poor in India and wherever her spark of reform and writ travels it will find a tinder among the common people of this country. Therein lies her strength. Today a national will has polarized around her many solid, shining and reassuring performances and she has already made a decisive difference to history. There is little doubt that she will go on doing so.

Section II

(i) Speaking as Prime Minister

Pledge to Serve

(*In Hindi*): My heart is full and I do not know how to thank you. I very well know we have many difficulties before us. But I also know that ours is a great country.

As I stand before you, my thoughts go to the great leaders: Mahatma Gandhi at whose feet I grew up, Panditji — my father, and Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. It was Shri Shastri and Pandit Pant who brought me into politics after Independence and persuaded me to continue in politics even when I wanted to quit.

These leaders have shown us the way, and I want to go along the same path.

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri gave his life for peace. It should be our effort to advance the cause of peace and at the same time make the country strong and safeguard its security.

I have always considered myself a *desh sevika* (servant of the nation) even as my father regarded himself as the first servant of the nation.

I also consider myself a servant of the party and of the great people of this country. Ours is an ancient country with a great tradition and heritage. There is something in this country which enables its people, for all their illiteracy and backwardness, to rise to the occasion when face to face with mighty challenges. I have every hope that, with unity, we shall be able to tackle the difficult problems facing us.

I want to thank Shri Morarji Desai, in particular, for pledging himself to work for unity. Elections are a normal feature in politics. Once elections are over, however, it is only fit and proper that differences should be forgotten and we should all work together, especially at a time like this, that is, when the country is facing so many difficulties.

I hope it will be possible for me to fulfil the trust that you have reposed in me. I thank you all once again.

(*In English*): I am overwhelmed by the great honour done to me, and I can only pledge myself to the service of the party and of the nation.

It is true there are great difficulties before us, but it is also true that this great and ancient land has tremendous resources — both material resources and inner strength of the people.

These resources have helped us face difficulties down the centuries. I have full faith in the Indian people. During every crisis they have been able to keep united and give what was expected of them. The present difficulties also, I hope, we shall face in the same manner.

I thank both who voted for me and those who voted against me, and I assure that I shall support you all. I hope all of you would fully support me and take the country forward.

Indira Gandhi's speech in Delhi soon after her election as leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party on January 19, 1966.

Building a Dynamic Society

Thirty-six years ago, on this very day, my voice was one of the thousands repeating the historic and soul-stirring words of our Pledge of Independence.

In 1947 that pledge was fulfilled. The world knew that a new progressive force, based on democracy and secularism, had emerged. In the seventeen years that Jawaharlal Nehru was Prime Minister, the unity of this country with its diversity of religion, community and language became a reality, democracy was born and grew roots. We took the first steps towards securing a better life for our people by planned economic development. India's voice was always raised in the cause of the liberation of oppressed peoples, bringing hope and courage to many. It was heard beyond her frontiers as the voice of peace and reason, promoting friendship and harmony amongst nations.

During his brief but memorable stewardship, Shastriji enriched the Indian tradition in his own way. He has left our country united and determined to pursue our national objectives. Only yesterday we committed his mortal remains to the sacred rivers. The entire country sorrowed for the great loss. I feel his absence intensely and personally, for I worked closely with him for many years.

My own approach to the vast problems which confront us is one of humility. The tradition left by Gandhiji and my father, and my own unbounded faith in the people of India give me strength and confidence. Time and again, India has given evidence of an indomitable spirit. In recent years, as in the past, she has shown unmistakable courage and capacity for meeting new challenges. There is a firm base of Indianness which will withstand any trial.

The coming months bristle with difficulties. We have numerous problems requiring urgent action. The rains have failed us. There has been drought in many parts. As a result, agricultural production, which is still precariously dependent on weather and rainfall, has suffered a sharp decline. Economic aid from abroad and earnings from export have not come to us in the measure expected. The lack of foreign exchange has hurt industrial production. Let us not be dismayed or discouraged by these unforeseen difficulties. Let us face them boldly. Let us learn from our mistakes and resolve not to let them recur. I hope to talk to you from time to time to explain the measures we take and to seek your support for them.

Above all else we must ensure food to our people in this year of scarcity. This is the first duty of the Government. We shall give urgent attention to the management and equitable distribution of foodgrains, both imported and procured at home. We expect full co-operation from the State Governments and all sections of the people in implementing our plans for rationing, procurement and distribution. Areas like Kerala which are experiencing acute shortage will receive particular attention. We shall try especially to meet the nutritional needs of mothers and children

in the scarcity affected areas to prevent permanent damage. We cannot afford to take risks where basic food is concerned. We propose, therefore, to import large enough quantities of foodgrains to bridge this gap. We are grateful to the United States for her sympathetic understanding and prompt help.

Only greater production will solve our food problem. We have now a well-thought-out plan to reach water and chemical fertilizers and new high-yielding varieties of seed as well as technical advice and credit to farmers. Nowhere is self-reliance more urgent than in agriculture and it means higher production not only for meeting the domestic needs of a large and increasing population, but also for growing more for exports. We have to devise more dynamic ways of drawing upon the time and energy of our rural people and engaging them in tasks of construction. We must breathe new life into the rural works programme and see that the income of the rural labourer is increased.

Our strategy of economic advance assigns a prominent role in the public sector for the rapid expansion of basic industries, power and transport. In our circumstances, this is not only desirable but necessary. It also imposes an obligation to initiate, to construct and manage public sector enterprises for further investments. Within the framework of our plans, there is no conflict between the public and private sectors. In our mixed economy, private enterprise has flourished and has received help and support from the Government. We shall continue to encourage and assist it.

Recent events have compelled us to explore the fullest possibilities of technological self-reliance: how to replace, from domestic sources, the materials we import, the engineering services we purchase, and the know-how we acquire from abroad. Our progress is linked with our ability to invent, improvise, adapt and conserve. We have a reservoir of talented scientists, engineers and technicians. We must make better use of them. Given the opportunity, our scientists and engineers have demonstrated their capacity to achieve outstanding results. There is the shining example of Dr Homi Bhabha and the achievements of the Atomic Energy Establishment. The path shown by Dr Bhabha will remain an inspiration.

Our programmes of economic and social development are encompassed in our Plans. The Third Five Year Plan is drawing to a close. We are on the threshold of the Fourth. The size and content of the Fourth Plan received general endorsement of the National Development Council last September even while we were preoccupied with the defence of our country. Its detailed formulation was interrupted due to many uncertainties, including that of foreign aid. We propose now to expedite this work. In the meantime an annual plan has been drawn up for 1966-67, the first year of the Fourth Plan, which takes into account the

main elements of the Five Year Plan.

In economic development, as in other fields of national activity, there is a disconcerting gap between intention and action. To bridge this gap we should boldly adopt whatever far-reaching changes in administration may be found necessary. We must introduce new organizational patterns and modern tools and techniques of management and administration. We shall instil into governmental machinery greater efficiency and a sense of urgency and make it more responsive to the needs of the people.

In keeping with our heritage, we have followed a policy of peace and friendship with all nations, yet reserved to ourselves the right to independent opinion. The principles which have guided our foreign policy are in keeping with the best traditions of our country, and is wholly consistent with our national interest, honour and dignity. They continue to remain valid. During my travels abroad I have had the privilege of meeting leaders in government and outside and have always found friendship and an appreciation of our stand. The fundamental principles laid down by my father, to which he and Shastriji dedicated their lives, will continue to guide us. It will be my sincere endeavour to work for the strengthening of peace and international co-operation so that people in all lands live in equality, free from domination and fear.

We seek to maintain the friendliest relations with our neighbours and to resolve any disputes peacefully. The Tashkent Declaration is an expression of these sentiments. We shall fully implement it, in letter and spirit.

Peace is our aim but I am keenly aware of the responsibility of the Government to preserve the freedom and territorial integrity of the country. We must therefore be alert and keep constant vigil, strengthening our defences as necessary. The valour, the determination, the courage and sacrifice of our fighting forces have set a shining example. My thoughts go out today to the disabled and the families of those who gave their lives.

Peace we want because there is another war to fight — the war against poverty, disease and ignorance. We have promises to keep to our people — of work, food, clothing, and shelter, health and education. The weaker and underprivileged sections of our people — all those who required special measures of social security, have always been and will remain uppermost in my mind.

Youth must have greater opportunity. The young people of India must recognize that they will get from their country tomorrow what they give her today. The nation expects them to aspire and to excel. The worlds of science and art, of thought and action beckon to them. There are new frontiers to cross, new horizons to reach and new goals to achieve.

No matter what our religion, language or State, we are one nation and one people. Let us all, farmers and workers, teachers and students,

scientists and technologists, industrialists, businessmen, politicians and public servants, put forth our best effort. Let us be strong, tolerant and disciplined, for tolerance and discipline are the very foundations of democracy. The dynamic and progressive society, the just social order which we wish to create, can be achieved only with unity of purpose and through hard work and co-operation.

Today I pledge myself anew to the ideals of the builders of our nation — to democracy and secularism, to planned economic and social advance, to peace and friendship among nations.

Citizens of India, let us revive our faith in the future. Let us affirm our ability to shape our destiny. We are comrades in a mighty adventure. Let us be worthy of it and of our great country.

JAI HIND

Broadcast to the nation on January 26, 1966.

Foundation of Future Work

I am overwhelmed with the confidence which you have all placed in me at this extremely difficult period of our history. I feel that of the many challenges we faced, we have already met the first challenge, and that is, the challenge which threatens the unity of our party (*applause*). We have taken the first step in unison, and I hope and pray, and indeed I am confident, that the other steps will also be taken in unity. Because unity has meaning only if it is with understanding of objectives and methods of working together towards a common goal.

The Congress has had high objectives before it. And many times we have faltered in that path, many times we have made mistakes, we have many shortcomings. But it has been and today it should be our endeavour in an even more determined way to work towards those objectives. We do not want to be caught up in any whirlpool of mere "isms". When we have used the word "socialism", we have used it as the broad picture of the welfare of the entire Indian people, of the vast masses of those who live in villages, of those who are called landless labour and who perhaps bear the heaviest brunt of poverty. We must do our best to work for their welfare and for those who work in factories. But at the same time, we must not cut ourselves off from the growing youth of the country, from the intelligentsia of the country. We must also look to the problems of those who work in Government offices and other offices, of those who man our essential services, all these are the people of India. Towards all these we must direct our attention, and see how we can find quicker solutions to the many problems and difficulties which face them.

Today no responsible person or party can make very spectacular statements. In the last few years since Independence, we have made much progress. But problems have also been mounting up and today the demand is not only for right policies, but for quick and efficient implementation of those policies, for quick results. We must realize that it is not possible to provide overnight solutions, no matter how much we may desire to do so. It is a question of hard work, of discussion together, and of being in tune with the masses and all sections of the people. If we can regain this mass contact and if we can retain a contact between ourselves, then we will have a foundation for our future work.

We face a changed situation. I am told, if this figure is correct, that since 1952 there has been only a 5 per cent fluctuation in the voting and yet it has created a tremendously changed picture. We are today not only in government but in some States in the opposition. We have to create, and we have to show, good standards of democratic functioning. We have to deal and work along with the opposition, wherever they work for the good of the country, wherever we feel that they are in the right direction. We must not oppose them merely for the sake of

opposition, as sometimes we ourselves have been opposed. Even here, in Parliament, we shall find it a difficult task to work with the many elements who comprise the opposition.

In our organization, we must also renew our faith in the path of democratic socialist functioning. I do not want to go at this time into matters of policies. I think we will have many occasions to discuss this together with you. Today I would like to welcome all those who are new members. We welcome them here and we hope that they will make valuable and interesting contribution to the Lok Sabha and that their being here will enrich our party. At the same time, I would like to give my good wishes to those who will no longer be with us. They have been valued colleagues. They have played very significant parts in the debates in the House, in the functioning of the party. We shall miss these familiar faces, and we hope that no matter where they are or what work they are doing, their advice will always be available and that they will keep up their interest in the affairs of the party.

Much work has to be done not only in the legislature but at all levels. And this again is something which we must all under the guidance of our Congress President and other leaders work out (*applause*). Here, when I got up, I had many things to say to you. But I must confess that I am so moved that I have no words except really to thank you once again for this confidence which you have placed in me. I would like to assure you that this burden is a tremendous burden. And it is a burden which cannot be borne by one person alone, not even by one person and a few colleagues in the Cabinet, but by the entire party here and the entire party all over the country (*applause*). We must treat these problems as our problems. As I said, we have made a good beginning. Let us continue in this way, let us not hesitate to give advice or suggestions, let no one feel isolated. There should always be opportunity for all to express themselves. I know, in the last session, many were a little unhappy that although we had long party meetings, everyone did not get the chance to speak. But there are many ways of expressing thoughts and of conveying suggestions. And my plea to you is not to feel ever that we are not interested in the advice or the suggestions which you have to give, and even if you are not called, I think that you should even take the first step and come and place your views. And I can assure you that your views and suggestions will always receive serious consideration.

Once again I thank you all. I thank Shri Kamarajji, who made, in spite of his ill-health, such a tremendous effort towards this first step of unity (*applause*). I thank Shri Morarjibhai, who also contributed to that unity. Today, if we have had any misunderstandings, let them be a thing of the past (*applause*). Let us open a new page and try to work together, all of us together, in mutual trust and confidence, only thus we

shall be able to build mutual strength and the strength of the party, as Morarjibhai said not for the sake of the party, but for the sake of our country and the high ideals for which the Congress has stood. As Gandhiji often repeated, in the midst of darkness there is light. Today we do see darkness, but in the midst of darkness we see much vitality, we see much that is cause for hope, we see much that gives opportunity for work. Let us look at that bright side, and I am sure that we shall be able to show not only by our talk, not only by the decisions we take or the resolutions we pass, but by our achievement and our performance that the Congress is a party that is alive, that is undaunted by defeat or setback, that it will always march forward for the welfare of the country and the people of India. I thank you very much (*applause*).

Speech on election as Leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party on March 12, 1967.

The Challenge of Drought

As I broadcast to you tonight, my heart is filled with great sadness. Countless millions of our people, men, women, children, in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and parts of other States as well, have had the bread taken out of their mouths by an abnormal failure of the rains from mid-August onwards. Green fields that promised an abundant harvest have withered. The grain has died on the stalk. The toil and sweat of months have been reduced to dust. There is hunger and distress in millions of homes.

With deficient rains, the water table has fallen. Water supply in wells and tanks is shrinking. Rain-fed rivers and streams not replenished by Himalayan snows are running dry. The condition of cattle and other livestock is pitiable. Both man and beast have begun to migrate in search of food and water. This is still a trickle. We must see that it does not become a flood and that every form of relief is provided to those in need.

This is why I am broadcasting to you tonight. Though there is drought in the land, even those who are most affected have not lost hope. They know that both Central and State Governments and, even more, their brothers and sisters elsewhere in the country, will give them succour. They have not resigned themselves to a cruel fate. Recently, I visited some of the drought-affected districts of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. I saw distress but no despair. Destitute as many of them have been rendered, there was none who begged for charity. They asked for work so that they might earn their bread.

The parched earth is caked and hard. No seed can grow on soil turned to stone. Yet I saw many fields ploughed in hope of rain — some miracle which would provide a little moisture to germinate a crop. There has been some rain. More is needed. Thousands of wells are being dug or deepened. Lift irrigation schemes are being put into operation to pump water from rivers to irrigate as large an area as possible. Bunds are being constructed on streams and rivulets and along the slope of the land to conserve, catch and impound whatever water there is or might fall. These irrigation schemes provide the bulk of employment to the lakhs who are now engaged in test relief works.

Driving through Monghyr district I saw a peasant watering a tiny ploughed patch with a bucket and a *lota*. This is symbolic of the heroic effort and spirit of our people. Whatever their suffering, they are not defeated.

It was this same courage and determination that saw us through a similar crisis earlier this year. The effort this season will have to be greater in many directions and more intensive. The current drought is confined to a somewhat smaller area of distress, but its severity is greater. Last year's drought followed a bumper harvest so that there was a fair carryover of stocks in public granaries and private larders. But the present drought comes in the wake of a lean year. The reserves of both the people and the country are gravely depleted. However, the kharif crop

has been reasonably good in certain parts of the country, especially in the South, so that we may not be without regional surpluses. These must be shared. Let every Indian eat a little less rather than let one Indian die of hunger.

Much has to be done — and immediately. The task is too big for the administration alone. There is need for the fullest mobilization of our talents and resources at all levels. Every individual, party, private agency, institution and organization, including business and industrial houses, has a part to play.

I am establishing a new fund for drought relief. Very shortly I shall issue a national appeal to organize the collection and distribution of public donations in cash and kind. Every contribution will be welcome, however small or humble.

There is need for blankets and clothing, both cotton and woollen. For drugs and medicines, vitamin tablets, powdered milk, preserved food, sweets and biscuits. For pumps, drills, picks and shovels and other equipment. For material to provide temporary shelter including corrugated iron sheets, tarpaulin and asbestos cement sheets. And for trucks and jeeps to transport these and other supplies to the remote interior. Fodder and water will have to be arranged for cattle, herds of which may have to be moved to areas where they can pasture.

Our first task must be to provide food and water wherever they are needed. We must provide work which will not only give the people purchasing power but will also help to build permanent productive assets which will further strengthen our agriculture. We must restore livelihood to those now rendered destitute and without work. The able-bodied want work — not doles. But we must care for children, for pregnant and nursing mothers, and for the aged and infirm through emergency feeding programmes.

We must guard against epidemics. An elaborate campaign of preventive public health is under way. Rationing and controlled distribution of foodgrains and other essentials are being extended. It is imperative to prepare and to observe the strict discipline of a national food budget. We will import what we can. For the rest we must share what we have and ensure the most equitable distribution possible. Hoarding, profiteering and waste will not be allowed. Those who can eat readily available substitute foods should cut down on conventional rations. Government itself will practise and encourage the utmost austerity.

We are not concerned only with the present emergency; we have to safeguard the future. We must invest the last ounce of physical, organizational, administrative and technological effort into increasing to the utmost rabi and summer crops. It is not a task for this year alone, to which we must dedicate ourselves — to grow food in adequate measure so that hunger and malnutrition are banished.

I hope this adversity will rouse us out of our complacent ways of thought and action and unite us in a common endeavour. Speed is essential. We need initiative, imagination, discipline and courage.

There is work for all in meeting the emergency. Students can be mobilized in a big way to work in the drought-affected areas, to distribute relief supplies and help in relief camps. It is good to know that students and teachers in the four districts of Gorakhpur division have joined in the vast campaign to dig 300,000 *kutcha* wells. Women can help in many ways by knitting and collecting clothing and food. The States would welcome the services of trained personnel. Retired officials and technicians and service personnel can offer supervision and expertise.

Last year, many voluntary bodies rendered valuable service. I seek co-operation from them again and also from others.

As the elections approach, there will be a natural tendency to divide along political lines. But the people's food and livelihood, their well-being, their very survival, are and must remain above politics. Let us think of a political truce, evolve some kind of code which will allow all activities related to the relief programme to progress without impediment. In particular, I appeal to all those working in the ports, railways and roadways to ensure at all times the smooth movement and distribution of food and other supplies. This is no time for bandhs and work-stoppages.

We are one nation, one people. The distress in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and other drought-affected areas is India's distress. We must stand together to fight the drought. We must share what we have. And we must unite to work for a better tomorrow.

Text of broadcast, November 16, 1966.

Nationalization of Banks

Some of you have perhaps already heard that Government has nationalized, by an ordinance, fourteen of the biggest commercial banks incorporated in India. I should like to tell you how we propose to operate the nationalized banking system.

As early as December 1954, Parliament took the decision to frame our plans and policies within a socialist pattern of society. Control over the commanding heights of the economy is necessary, particularly in a poor country where it is extremely difficult to mobilize adequate resources for development, and to reduce the inequalities between different groups and regions. Ours is an ancient country but a young democracy, which has to remain ever vigilant to prevent the domination of the few over the social, economic or political systems. Banks play a vital role in the functioning of any economy. To those who have money to spare, banks are the custodians of their savings, on which a good return can be earned by wise and efficient management. To the millions of small farmers, artisans, and other self-employed persons, a bank can be a source of credit, which is the very basis for any effort to improve their meagre economic lot. Even established trade and industry, big or small, cannot function or expand without adequate bank credit on reasonable terms. For our growing number of educated young men and women, banks offer an opportunity for employment, which at the same time is an opportunity for service to society. To those who do not have business of their own, banks, like the postal system or the railways, provide a facility for daily life.

An institution, such as the banking system, which touches — and *should touch* — the lives of millions, has necessarily to be inspired by a larger social purpose and has to subserve national priorities and objectives. That is why there has been widespread demand that major banks should be not only socially controlled but publicly owned. It is not an accident that this has been the practice even in some countries which do not adhere to socialism. That is also why we nationalized, more than a decade ago, the Life Insurance business and the State Bank, or the Imperial Bank, as it was then called. That is also why we have set up, directly under the aegis of the State, a number of financial institutions to provide medium or long-term credit to agriculture and industry. The step we have now taken is a continuation of the process which has long been under way. It is my earnest hope that it will mark a new and more vigorous phase in the implementation of our avowed plans and policies. But it is not the beginning of a new era of nationalization. Nor is it an attempt to transfer resources which are already employed productively to other sectors. The problems of growth, whether on farms or in factories, whether in backward regions or others only relatively well-developed, whether in relation to exports or growing self-reliance, can be solved only in a positive manner which looks essentially to an enlargement of resources and

opportunities rather than to redistribution for its own sake. Certainly, public ownership of the major banks will help to eliminate the use of bank credit for speculative and unproductive purpose, particularly to the extent that it is encouraged at present by the association of a few leading groups with some of our major banks. I should like to assure all sections of industry and trade that legitimate needs for credit will be safeguarded. Indeed it shall be our endeavour to ensure that bank credit expands on the basis of genuine savings in keeping with the growing needs of all productive sectors of the economy.

Some time ago we had adopted social control over banks. What is sought to be achieved through the present decision to nationalize the major banks is to accelerate the achievement of our objectives. The purpose of expanding bank credit to priority areas which have hitherto been somewhat neglected — such as (1) the removal of control by a few, (2) provision of adequate credit for agriculture and small industry and exports, (3) the giving of a professional bent to bank management, (4) the encouragement of new classes of entrepreneurs, (5) the provision of adequate training as well as reasonable terms of service for bank staff — still remain and will call for continuous efforts over a long time. Nationalization is necessary for the speedy achievement of these objectives. But the measure by itself will not achieve these objectives.

As far as possible, and certainly for some time to come, we propose to retain the separate identity and the present management of each bank. Therefore, when the banks reopen after the week-end, your relations with the bank will remain the same as they were before nationalization. This is true not only for those who bank in India but also for those who bank abroad, with the branches of the Indian banks which have now been taken over. In due course, structural and other changes may become necessary. These will be made in an orderly fashion and after broad-based consultations and the most detailed expert examination. Most of you are perhaps aware that a Banking Commission is examining this very problem of defining a structure for the banking system which would be more appropriate to the needs of the economy.

We are poised at present for substantial progress in agriculture and industry, in exports and in replacement of imports by domestic production. In order to exploit fully the opportunity which has been created by the enthusiasm and initiative of our farmers, workers and industrialists, by the industrial capacity already built up and the growing cadres of well-trained managers and technicians, we must make a determined effort to mobilize resources and to deploy them wisely for productive uses. I have no doubt that the important step we have just taken, at the beginning of the new Plan period, will facilitate the achievement of the aspirations we all share for our great country.

I appeal to all of you to help in the productive and purposeful

implementation of this step. I appeal particularly to the managers and staff of the banks which have been nationalized to co-operate fully in the task of making the banking system serve our national objectives better. I am sure that the management and staff of these banks will make every effort to render prompt and courteous service to those whose well-earned savings are entrusted to their care.

In our internal as in foreign policy, we believe in acting according to our judgment and in keeping with our traditions and needs. There can be no question of aligning ourselves this way or that, whether internally or externally. We remain committed to the freedom and progress of the people of this great country.

JAI HIND

Text of broadcast. July 19, 1969.

Basic Ideals

For the last five days or so we have had the debate on the President's Address. I am glad that several Members recognized that this Address marks the beginning of a new phase in our national life. It is reflected not only in the Budget but in the many steps which have been taken and it will further be reflected in other steps. We have had the customary speeches from the Hon. Members sitting opposite in which they have set forth views which are expected and well known from their side. Nevertheless we have always welcomed criticism of all kinds, especially in a debate of this nature which gives us an opportunity of putting forward our own objectives and policies.

The President has beckoned to us to look ahead, to look forward. Some of our friends opposite seem to have turned a deaf ear to this call; this has not surprised us. But the debate has succeeded in performing another useful function. The events of the last few months have had the effect of bringing together on the one side people who are largely in favour of progress, and, on the other side those who look backward.

We tend to be absorbed in day-to-day problems and therefore we tend to take for granted the larger intellectual and political forces which are at work in the world today. While we are involved in changing the economic and social structure of our country, technology is changing and transforming the entire world. Modern communication methods are having an impact on young people everywhere including our own country, even in the remoter parts of the country. Let us not forget that what we say and do today must have meaning for the young people. Our decisions must stand the test of their approval during the coming years.

I must confess my disappointment at the speech of the Hon. Leader of the Opposition. Many of us had hoped that the emergence of a formal Leader of the Opposition would make a difference to the level of the debate and would strengthen parliamentary conventions and civilities. I am sorry that this hope has not been fulfilled. His speech was short on vision, short on perspective, short on facts and short on temper. Frustration breathes through every word he uttered. A sense of defeat and utter helplessness has enveloped him and his group. But I am glad to say that it is not shared by the people of this country or by any of us on this side of the House. At no time have our people felt more imbued with the urge for change and with the feeling of their capacity to bring about this change.

Sir, as I said just now, recent events have brought about a broad division between forward-looking people and those who wish to stay put. In fact, it was the likemindedness among the no-changers that led to the events which have taken place. The debate has given further proof of such likemindedness. Prof. Ranga and Dr. Ram Subhag Singh sounded much alike except for their accent. I believe that a common mint supplies both of them with the currency for their ideas and their phrases.

Shri S. K. Patil sought to resurrect Mark Twain. Mark Twain was one of my favourite authors when I was a child and, if I may say so, it was not one of his better sayings which was quoted here. Shri Patil spoke of slogans. Few people have used more slogans than he. He talked also of my being a prisoner. Perhaps, the Hon. House has heard the story of the tiger which was put in a cage, but he took consolation in thinking that it was the whole world which was in a cage because he saw it through the bars.

Shri Patil has been a forthright and candid person. He has never hidden his true opinions, no matter how he has voted. I know that his views on nationalization, on socialism and the privy purses are not shared by all those among whom he now sits. I hope, however, that he will vote with them as he voted with the Congress when it adopted the 10-Point Resolution. He spoke of privy purses with great passion. Let him convert his own followers to his point of view before he preaches to the rest of the House and to the Government.

The House and the country need have no feeling that anything wrong is done either in appreciating the historic role played by the princes when our country became independent or in asking them today to move with history in the same spirit which they had then displayed. I should like to acknowledge the courage and far-sightedness which a large number of princes are displaying to bring about social integration even as they helped the political integration of the country. However, I should like to remind the House that it was no accident that the loudest acclamation during the President's Address was reserved for his mention of the ending of the privy purses and the privileges.

Some Hon. Members talked of inter-border disputes. I think Shri Lakkappa mentioned it. The object of setting up commissions is to assess the facts and points of view in depth so that their recommendations can lead to decisions which have a measure of fairness. Territorial disputes have arisen between our States because of a variety of historical circumstances. The factors are not the same everywhere; issues do not get settled unless the action taken generally satisfy the majority or dissatisfy the least number of the people concerned. Hon. Members will recall that several recommendations made by the States Reorganization Commission had either to be substantially modified or to be rejected. But in all such cases, the main object was to provide the maximum satisfaction to the people concerned. There was a demand also for certain basic principles to be enunciated to solve the present disputes and those that might arise in future. When this was first said, I think it was at the meeting of the National Integration Council in Srinagar, I must confess that the idea seemed attractive, but on further consideration it seems to me somewhat naive to suggest that all human affairs are susceptible of being reduced to general laws and I think that there might be more practical wisdom in

solving some of the issues in the light of their own facts and circumstances. It might be hard to evolve principles to fit all cases in a way which would satisfy everyone. Indeed, we know from experience that some solutions create more problems than they solve. I would, therefore, make a plea for trying to isolate some of these problems rather than generalize them.

It has been said in this House and outside that we are planning to use the civil service for political purposes. I have denied this on every possible occasion and I can say that my remark about committed civil servants has been twisted. I have always held the view that the duty of the civil servants is to give frank and honest advice and not to let their judgment be cramped by fear or favour. I certainly do not want civil servants who are in any way servile or politically convenient, because if they were so, they would not be helpful to the Government or to the administration. However, I do think that all people who are in charge of the administration or of projects should have a commitment to the service of the people and their welfare. They should think of people as individual human beings, not merely as statistics. Therefore, when I used the word "commitment", what I meant was that they should be loyal to the guiding principles of our Constitution and the objectives which have been adopted by Parliament.

An Hon. Member: Are they loyal?

Indira Gandhi: I think it is a good question. They are not disloyal but we are all aware that previously there was not great stress laid on attitudes, because Government did not have the great problems of development and change before it. By and large, I have found these qualities of courage and conviction at all levels of the civil services.

While talking of the civil service, I am aware that since Government have to assume larger responsibilities, we must constantly aim at greater efficiency, more expertise and more speedy methods of work.

Hon. Members have naturally been concerned with our economic policy. I shall not deal with this matter in detail today, as it will be discussed later when the budget and the Plan are considered. However, I should like to mention a few points which, it seems to me, are based on wrong assumption and imperfect data.

Professor Ranga sought to develop a thesis of his own on steel. He seems to doubt that there would be any demand for the steel which we are planning to produce. He is perhaps under the impression that recessionary trends for the demand in steel and other engineering projects still continue. There was a decline in the demand for steel between 1964 and 1968; and since then there has been a steady and significant rise. It is well known that there is an acute shortage of various types of steel such as billets, sheets, plates and wire rods. We must remember that any decision on the creation of additional capacity in steel has to be

taken not with reference to today's needs but the long-term projection of demand. It takes anything from one to seven years to plan, design and commission a steel plant and for it to attain the rated capacity. That is why we have decided on the expansion of Bokaro and Bhilai and have also initiated action for the creation of new capacities.

The House is aware how many States are demanding steel plants. Perhaps Professor Ranga would be so kind as to help us out in dissuading them. Should he agree to this, may I ask him to start with Visakhapatnam?

From Professor Ranga to Shri Morarji Desai is an obvious transition these days, as they are close to each other, not only in their sitting but perhaps in their thinking also. Both of them made critical references to Bokaro. The reasons sounded different but there is much likeness even in their reasoning.

I wonder how Shri Morarji Desai computed the capital cost of Bokaro at Rs 2,860 per ton. Probably he has not been told of the extra pig iron production of about 900,000 tonnes. Taking this into account, the latest cost estimate would be about Rs 2,500 per ton. The main factors which pushed up the cost, as compared to plants such as Rourkela, are (1) devaluation because of which the cost went up by Rs 75 crores even at the 1.7 million tonne stage; (2) considerable time spent between the expansion of the Rourkela plant and Bokaro plant during which period there was considerable escalation of the cost of steel, cement, labour and so on; (3) the cost of domestic and international equipment has also risen continuously. Rise in such overheads in other projects, whether of the public sector or private sector, due to similar factors, is not unknown.

The Rourkela yield of finished steel from ingots at 1.8 million tonne stage is about 72 per cent. In Bokaro this is estimated to be 81 per cent, which gives considerable advantage to Bokaro. In other words, if the investment costs are calculated per ton of finished steel, this factor alone would lower the cost of Bokaro by about ten per cent. Calculating in terms of finished steel, the cost of Rourkela would be about Rs 2,750 per ton of finished steel, against Bokaro's investment cost of Rs 3,100 per ton of finished steel.

Hon. Members are rightly agitated over Rhodesia. The Government of India consider the decision of the break-away regime to declare itself as Republic as totally illegal. Government will continue to support all measures taken by the world community and the African States against the racist regime.

The basic question before us today is what type of society we want to build. It is not merely a question of how much the national or the *per capita* income will go up but how one Indian will deal with another. Will he regard all his countrymen as equal? Will he believe that some people have more rights than others? If there are differences, which are not unlikely in any society, how will they be resolved — by

resort to violence or through discussion and understanding?

We have inherited certain values not only from the long past but also from our training during the independence movement under Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru . . . and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, although there was a difference because at that time Netaji had stood for violence while we were pursuing the path of non-violence.

Let me make it very clear that our picture of India and the methods which we are pledged to pursue are certainly not those of the Hon. Member opposite, Shri Vajpayee, and his party. He spoke of Indianization. In his Address the President had said that the problems of India require uniquely Indian solutions taking into account our way of life, our history and our tradition.

If, therefore, Shri Vajpayee wants every Indian to love his country and to be patriotic, nobody can quarrel with that, and I certainly do not do so; nor is any special theory of Indianization required. But I think his theory is not quite so innocent. Shri Vajpayee would not waste his energy in stating something which is so obvious. He and those of his way of thinking have a very definite purpose. Evidently, they take upon themselves to be the judges of who is Indian and who is not.

This, I think, is most sinister. Whenever any group sets itself up to decide who is an Indian and who is not, there is bound to be trouble. May I ask the Hon. Member as to who will judge the quantum or the quality of Indianness of any individual?

Does he envisage that any tribunal would do it?

What I want to know is: Does the Hon. Member envisage a tribunal to go into the matter or does he think that it is his party which should be assigned this task? We remember vividly the havoc caused in America by some people who declared other Americans to be un-American and, in the entire world, when some Germans maintained that other Germans were un-Aryan and, therefore, un-German. These people have paraded under the banner of ultra-nationalism and have attempted, and unfortunately in some cases succeeded, in undermining the very basis of democratic society. Such assertion of ultra-nationalism is a masquerade to disguise the face of reaction. And this must be unmasked. If this course of Indianization is so simple, why should they argue? Why should it arouse fears in the minds of some sections of our people? (*Interruptions*)

I have thought over deeply about what Shri Vajpayee said here and what his other colleagues have said. I think it is time that all these statements should be replied to.

I would just say that the test of any statement is not how you yourself interpret it but what impact it has on the people about whom you make that statement.

To me, every child who is born of Mother India is a good Indian. There is the law of treason and there are competent courts to decide

if anyone is guilty of treason. This cannot be left to be decided by any political group or party. No oratorical devices can hide the real intentions of those who advocate the Indianization of their fellow countrymen.

Either Shri Vajpayee's doctrine means the obvious which, as I have said, needs no reiteration, or it is hiding something. And to find that out, Shri Vajpayee's colleague, Shri Madhok, is a better guide. He bluntly says what he means and the House is aware of his numerous utterances on this subject. In this House, Shri Vajpayee, I think, has acted only as a kind of make-up man to Shri Madhok's ideas.

In fact Shri Vajpayee himself disclosed in his speech that he knew something about women's hair-dressing. With his eloquence he has tried to prettify an ugly thought. Shri Vajpayee was aggrieved that I was not present when he spoke. But I have read his speech in cold print. His true intentions come out better when shorn of his ringing cadences. Therefore, Mr Speaker, I am not moved by some of the rhetorical questions which he has asked as to what is wrong with humanizing a human being. We should be on guard against fine phrases which hide extremist designs, whether of the extreme right or of the extreme left.

Another spurious coin was put into circulation with the help of his considerable speaking skill. I refer to the so-called Swadeshi Plan which is being propagated today by his party. This Swadeshi Plan is apparently done by an economist who has just arrived from Harvard University. If Hon. Members study it in detail they will discover that it is a mere outline which promises much, but tells too little about how that promise is to be fulfilled.

It promises rapid acceleration of the rate of growth to over 10 per cent per annum with full employment; the raising of the lowest 10 per cent of the population significantly above the poverty line; and, please note, with the immediate termination of all foreign aid. This is not all. This Santa Claus also promises a programme of investment for a full nuclear arsenal as well.

When I saw this document the simile that came to my mind was that of the famous rope trick about which so much is said and so little seen. I hope the Hon. Member Shri Vajpayee will tell us how he proposes to force the community to save 50 per cent of the additional income generated. How will the rate of growth of agricultural output be increased to 6.5 per cent a year? And, if foreign aid is to be discontinued immediately, and even after allowance is made for some unused capacity in the machine-building industry, how, and in what concrete ways, will such a vastly expanded programme be sustained? From where will the investment come? I think that a sober and objective examination of this so-called Swadeshi Plan will probably bring disenchantment. May I invite the Hon. Member to have his plan examined

in a professional and technical manner for its internal consistency and for the soundness of its economic analysis? One should examine the validity of its data and, what is even more important, its social and political implications for the kind of society we have been endeavouring to evolve in India. It seems to me that Shri Vajpayee's party has a different set of political and social premises in mind, premises which are outside our system and which he is not prepared to articulate. In this plan there is a monopolistic conception of social order and its inconsistency is apparent in a democratic social system. It is true that I have given a good deal of time to Shri Vajpayee's thoughts because I think that they merit it. I have tried to see through his sweet phrases and his very beautiful Hindi into his dangerous thoughts.

Shri Morarjibhai has referred to my speech in Ujjain and also to what I said in the other House on the Supreme Court.

Sir, in Ujjain, I barely referred to the Supreme Court, except to say that the news of its judgment had just come.

Shri Balraj Madhok: The Press is most unreliable.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi: I have never wanted the Press or anybody else to be loyal to me. Loyalty should always be for a larger cause. . . . I want to say very categorically that our reverence to the Supreme Court is total. In fact, everyone in this land should have the highest regard for the Judiciary. The Constitution has clearly laid down the role of the courts. And, all three parts of the Government, the Legislature, the Executive, and the Judiciary, are pledged to upholding the Constitution. But, Sir, the Constitution has also given us certain Directive Principles. In realizing them, difficulties of interpretation might arise. This is not a new development. We have gone through this before. Many of our Bills on land reform and so on have met with reverses, and this was what I had referred to in Ujjain, just in one very brief sentence.

But whenever any of our Acts has been struck down, we have the necessary remedial action within the framework of the Constitution, for every living Constitution contains within itself the capacity to respond to changing needs and to new forces of history.

As I said at the beginning of my speech, the pace of change in the entire world and in our own country is much faster now. This is something which is beyond our control. It is the technological and scientific changes which are coming about which are bringing this about. But in the last year, it did look to our people here as if the pace of change in India in some directions was slowing down. This is what had created restlessness and disturbance in the minds of many and especially of the younger generation. Now, we are again in a position to go forward. Let nothing be said which will hold back our people, which will sow doubt in their minds or deflect them from their determined path. Mistakes are sometimes made; wrong things are also being done; Shri Atal Bihari

Vajpayee made mention of some of them; but basically, the people are on the move. They are impatient only because they see that change can be faster; they are impatient because they see that their difficulties and their hardships can be removed. Let it be said that responsible representatives of the people acted at this difficult time with vision and courage and with faith in the people of India.

I remain deeply convinced that the democratic path is the only path for India to solve its problems. But there can be no true democracy without socialism and without secularism. There can be no true socialism without true democracy . So, let us move forward with this ideal, for only then shall we be able to reach our goal and overcome all obstacles.

Extracts from reply to debate on the President's Address, Lok Sabha, March 4, 1970.

Fresh Mandate

There comes a time in the life of a nation when the government of the day has to take an unusual step to cut through difficulties in order to solve the pressing problems with which the country is beset. The present is such a time. Therefore, on the advice of the Council of Ministers, the President has dissolved the Lok Sabha before its full term. In a parliamentary democracy this is not unusual, but in India it has happened for the first time.

Why did we do this, when it is conceded on all sides that our Government could have continued in power for another 14 months?

It is because we are concerned not merely with remaining in power, but with using that power to ensure a better life to the vast majority of our people and to satisfy their aspirations for a just social order. In the present situation, we feel we cannot go ahead with our proclaimed programme and keep our pledges to our people.

In the years since Independence, the nation has many achievements to its credit — vast and complex industrial enterprises; agrarian reforms, including the abolition of the zamindari system; mass education including substantial expansion of university and technical education; major social reforms and advance in many other spheres, particularly in science and technology.

But despite this progress, many problems still await solution. Millions live in backwardness and poverty in town and countryside. Justice social, economic and political — which is the basis of our Constitution, is yet a goal to be fought for and attained. Our people are rightly impatient in their ardent desire for a speedier and more resolute advance towards this goal.

Our recent political initiatives reflect this urge. The decision to nationalize the banks, the setting up of the Monopolies Commission and the attempt to abolish privy purses were welcomed by large masses of people throughout the country.

These attempts to accelerate the pace of social and economic reforms have naturally roused the opposition of vested interests. Reactionary forces have not hesitated to obstruct in every possible way the proper implementation of these urgent and vitally necessary measures.

The present political situation has set in motion a process of rethinking on major political issues within every political party.

With the division in the Congress, we lost our party majority although throughout we have retained the confidence of Parliament. The amendments to the Constitution designed to pave the way to abolish privy purses and princely privileges were lost by a fraction of a vote in the Rajya Sabha. The Presidential Order derecognizing the Princes has been struck down by the Supreme Court as unconstitutional.

Economic difficulties and the growing impatience of the people are being exploited by political elements. Violent activities are being organized by extremists. Reactionary groups are arousing communal passions and

trying to divide our people. This has often led to a breakdown of law and order and the dislocation of normal life, causing suffering to our people. The challenges posed by the present critical situation can be met only by the proper and effective implementation of our secular, socialist policies and programmes through democratic processes.

Time will not wait for us. The millions who demand food, shelter and jobs are pressing for action.

Power in a democracy resides with the people. That is why we have decided to go to our people and to seek a fresh mandate from them. We hope that the fresh elections will be completed in time for the new Lok Sabha to assemble in March 1971 well before the end of the current financial year.

The old year is ending. I wish you — each one of you — a happy New Year, a year of renewed hope and common endeavour to realize the great goals which we have set for ourselves.

JAI HIND

Broadcast, December 27, 1970.

We Have the Ability

(*In Hindi*) I have stood many times before you here in this very hall. My heart is full of the love and esteem which you have given to me all these days. You have put in great efforts not only during the elections but in the difficult period before the elections. In your generosity you have said that the victory is mine. This is not correct. This is the victory of all of us working together. We have shown to our people that we are one and that we are devoted to our programme, whatever the difficulties. We have the ability, the strength and the determination to go ahead. We are firm. And that is why the people have returned us in such overwhelming majority.

I am grateful to you all for your support. All of us must thank the people for the confidence which they have given us and the responsibility which they have placed upon us.

Removing poverty is a very big task. I do not know whether we can do it. We are human. We may make mistakes. We may falter. But we have to show that whatever happens we shall put in all our energy into the task of removing poverty. We must take the country forward on the road to socialism.

(*In English*) I should first of all like to express my very deep gratitude to the members of the Congress party, those who have been elected to Parliament, those who, in spite of very hard work, have failed — usually by a very few votes, those who did not stand for election but who helped our candidates, and many other workers who have been with us in these months of trial and tribulation. It is this support and unity which had given our party the strength to face this biggest challenge of elections.

I did not have any doubt that we would have a very big majority. In politics one assesses the situation and takes a decision only after an assessment of what the results are likely to be. So there was no doubt in my mind, or in the minds of my senior colleagues whom I consulted, that we would have a big majority.

But what has happened is beyond our expectation — not in the number of seats, but in the manner in which this election was won.

From the beginning, the people of India made it their election. It was not as if parties were fighting the elections. It seemed the entire Indian people were fighting for a way of life, for the direction in which the country should go.

While we are naturally jubilant, for us the moment is not merely one of jubilation but a moment of rededication to the ideals for which the Congress had always stood and the values for which we have struggled. It is a moment when we must pledge ourselves anew to the big tasks ahead. These tasks are of tremendous magnitude.

One would have seen newspaper comments here and abroad about the elections that India had some chance but not much chance. I feel India has a very good chance.

The people have disproved many prophecies. Time and again gloomy prophecies have been made but the people have shown that these prophecies are not correct. It is for us to see that we do not lag behind the people. We have to keep the people involved and make them feel that it is their programme and not Government's programme. It has to be a joint endeavour of the people, the Government and the party working together for the common good — lessening of disparities and taking the country on a path where we can, little by little, remove the difficulties and sorrows of our people.

One of my colleagues just spoke of working for the happiness of our people. Happiness is a very big word. I do not think it consists in material possessions, in having more of what we want. I think happiness comes when you know you are doing the right thing, that you are devoting yourself for a cause bigger than yourself, that you are doing something which will bring some solace and succour to others. This is the happiness which I should like to wish for all of you.

Fortunately, the elections have cut across barriers of caste, community and religion and we must all see that we keep India united and integrated on the forward path of socialism.

I face this moment with great humility. When people have reposed such great faith in us we cannot but be humble. At the same time, we must take this challenge with confidence in ourselves and in our people. It is only through this confidence that we shall have the strength to go ahead.

I thank you all very warmly for your help and for your hard work. But I want you to recognize that this is not the end of the struggle but only the beginning.

This election is a key which has opened the door but the journey ahead remains. It will be a long and difficult journey. We have a big majority. The big majority makes some things easier. Some things may be more difficult. Whether easy or difficult, we have to face the tasks with courage, unity, determination and, above all, with a spirit of service.

Speech on re-election as Leader of Congress Parliamentary Party, March 17, 1971.
Reconstructed from notes and news agency reports.

Situation in Bangladesh

In the seven weeks since Parliament recessed, the attention of the entire country has been focussed on the continuing tragedy in Bangladesh. Honourable Members will recall the atmosphere of hope in which we met in March. We all felt that our country was poised for rapid economic advance and a more determined attack on the age-old poverty of our people. Even as we were settling down to these new tasks, we have been engulfed by a new and gigantic problem, not of our making.

On May 15 and 16 I visited Assam, Tripura and West Bengal, to share the suffering of the refugees, to convey to them the sympathy and support of this House and of the people of India and to see for myself the arrangements which are being made for their care. I am sorry it was not possible to visit other camps this time. Every available building, including schools and training institutions, has been requisitioned. Thousands of tents have been pitched and temporary shelters are being constructed as quickly as possible in the 335 camps which have been established so far. In spite of our best efforts, we have not been able to provide shelter to all those who have come across, and many are still in the open. The district authorities are under severe strain. Before they can cope with those who are already here, 60,000 more are coming across every day.

So massive a migration, in so short a time, is unprecedented in recorded history. About three and a half million people have come into India from Bangladesh during the last eight weeks. They belong to every religious persuasion — Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist and Christian. They come from every social class and age group. They are not refugees in the sense we have understood this word since Partition. They are victims of war who have sought refuge from the military terror across our frontier.

Many refugees are wounded and need urgent medical attention. I saw some of them in the hospitals I visited in Tripura and West Bengal. Medical facilities in all our border States have been stretched to breaking point. Equipment for 1100 new hospital beds has been rushed to these States, including a 400-bed mobile hospital, generously donated by the Government of Rajasthan. Special teams of surgeons, physicians, nurses and public health experts have been deputed to the major camps. Special water supply schemes are being executed on the highest priority, and preventive health measures are being undertaken on a large scale.

In our sensitive border States, which are facing the brunt, the attention of the local administration has been diverted from normal and development work to problems of camp administration, civil supplies and security. But our people have put the hardships of refugees above their own, and have stood firm against the attempts of Pakistani agent-provocateurs to cause communal strife. I am sure this fine spirit will be maintained.

On present estimates, the cost to the Central Exchequer on relief alone

may exceed Rs 180 crores for a period of six months. All this, as Honourable Members will appreciate, has imposed an unexpected burden on us.

I was heartened by the fortitude with which these people of Bangladesh have borne tribulation, and by the hope which they have for their future.

It is mischievous to suggest that India has had anything to do with what happened in Bangladesh. This is an insult to the aspirations and spontaneous sacrifices of the people of Bangladesh, and a calculated attempt by the rulers of Pakistan to make India a scapegoat for their own misdeeds. It is also a crude attempt to deceive the world community. The world Press has seen through Pakistan's deception. The majority of these so-called Indian infiltrators are women, children and the aged.

This House has considered many national and international issues of vital importance to our country. But none of them has touched us so deeply as the events in Bangladesh. When faced with a situation of such gravity, it is specially important to weigh every word in acquainting this House, and our entire people, with the issues involved and the responsibilities which now devolve on us all.

These twenty-three years and more, we have never tried to interfere with the internal affairs of Pakistan, even though they have not exercised similar restraint. And even now we do not seek to interfere in any way. But what has actually happened? What was claimed to be an internal problem of Pakistan has also become an internal problem for India. We are, therefore, entitled to ask Pakistan to desist immediately from all actions which it is taking in the name of domestic jurisdiction, and which vitally affect the peace and well-being of millions of our own citizens. Pakistan cannot be allowed to seek a solution of its political or other problems at the expense of India and on Indian soil.

Has Pakistan the right to compel at bayonet-point not hundreds, not thousands, not hundreds of thousands, but millions of its citizens to flee their homes? For us it is an intolerable situation. The fact that we are compelled to give refuge and succour to these unfortunate millions cannot be used as an excuse to push more and more people across our border.

We are proud of our tradition of tolerance. We have always felt contrite and ashamed of our moments of intolerance. Our nation, our people are dedicated to peace and are not given to talking in terms of war or threat of war. But I should like to caution our people that we may be called upon to bear still heavier burdens.

The problems which confront us are not confined to Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and West Bengal. They are national problems. Indeed the basic problem is an international one.

We have sought to awaken the conscience of the world through our representatives abroad and the representatives of foreign Governments in

India. We have appealed to the United Nations, and, at long last, the true dimensions of the problem seem to be making themselves felt in some of the sensitive chanceries of the world. However, I must share with the House our disappointment at the unconscionably long time which the world is taking to react to this stark tragedy.

Not only India but every country has to consider its interests. I think I am expressing the sentiments of this august House and of our people when I raise my voice against the wanton destruction of peace, good neighbourliness and the elementary principles of humanity by the insensate action of the military rulers of Pakistan. They are threatening the peace and stability of the vast segment of humanity represented by India.

We welcome Secretary General U Thant's public appeal. We are glad that a number of States have either responded or are in the process of doing so. But time is the essence of the matter. Also the question of giving relief to these millions of people is only part of the problem. Relief cannot be perpetual, or permanent; and we do not wish it to be so. Conditions must be created to stop any further influx of refugees and to ensure their early return under credible guarantees for their future safety and well-being. I say with all sense of responsibility that unless this happens, there can be no lasting stability or peace on this subcontinent. We have pleaded with other Powers to recognize this. If the world does not take heed, we shall be constrained to take all measures as may be necessary to ensure our own security and the preservation and development of the structure of our social and economic life.

We are convinced that there can be no military solution to the problem of East Bengal. A political solution must be brought about by those who have the power to do so. World opinion is a great force. It can influence even the most powerful. The Great Powers have a special responsibility. If they exercise their power rightly and expeditiously then only can we look forward to durable peace on our subcontinent. But if they fail — and I sincerely hope that they will not — then this suppression of human rights, the uprooting of people, and the continued homelessness of vast numbers of human beings will threaten peace.

This situation cannot be tackled in a partisan spirit or in terms of party politics. The issues involved concern every citizen. I hope this Parliament, our country and our people will be ready to accept the necessary hardships so that we can discharge our responsibilities to our own people as well as to the millions, who have fled from a reign of terror to take temporary refuge here.

All this imposes on us heavy obligations and the need for stern national discipline. We shall have to make many sacrifices. Our factories and farms must produce more. Our railways and our entire transport and communication system must work uninterruptedly. This is no time

for any interplay of regional or sectional interests. Everything must be subordinated to sustain our economic, social and political fabric and to reinforce national solidarity. I appeal to every citizen, every man, woman and child to be imbued with the spirit of service and sacrifice of which, I know, this nation is capable.

Text of statement in Lok Sabha, May 24, 1971.

Duty of International Community

I was here just five years ago and I spoke to you then of what we have been trying to do in India. Much has happened in that time, not only in India but in all parts of the world. But naturally, just now I am more concerned with my own country.

Doubts were expressed then in 1966, in my own country and by the world press, including the press in the United States, about our unity, our democracy and even our ability to survive. Well, all I can say is there I am again. But we have gone through a period of darkness and difficulty, which even for a people accustomed to hardship has been exceptionally severe. We are now self-sufficient in wheat and rice and other cereals, which are the staple diet of our people. With increasing expansion in irrigation facilities and fertilizer output, major breakthroughs are expected in other farm products as well. Our family planning programmes have had some impact. The census held this last March showed that our population was fourteen million less than had been estimated.

Political changes in our party have taken place peacefully, giving greater coherence and sense of direction to our national life. Our confidence in our people was justified in our general election. On an average, sixty per cent of the people voted, not only in the cities but in the remote areas of the interior and in the mountains. The people gave me and my party a good majority. But what was special about the elections was the enthusiasm with which the people, and especially the young people, made it their own campaign.

The elections aroused new hope in our people and generated new energy and purpose in us. But today your thoughts and mine are preoccupied with the crisis of Bangladesh, that is, East Bengal. There, too, elections were held. The fact that even under a military regime the people of East Bengal so overwhelmingly voted for the Awami League showed their deep desire for democratic rights. The military rulers used the period of negotiations to amass troops. And on the very day when the League thought that settlement was to be reached, a reign of terror such as history has rarely witnessed was unleashed.

I have not hesitated sometimes to criticize the Press, of course, in self-defence. But on this occasion, I should like to express appreciation of the manner in which the Press correspondents of many countries have tried to arouse the conscience of the world. They have shown courage and perseverance in lifting the veil around East Bengal and revealing the grim tragedy being enacted there. Their words have been honest and direct, but the photographs have outdone in conveying the very essence of sorrow and misery.

What is taking place there is not a civil war, in the ordinary sense of the word; it is a genocidal punishment of civilians for having voted democratically. It is a strange and cynical way of getting rid of one's opponents and of deliberately using helpless millions as a weapon against a

neighbour nation. The number of the refugees is equal to the population of some of the countries of Europe, such as Austria and Belgium, where I was only recently.

We feel that this is a new kind of aggression. It certainly casts an unconscionable economic burden on us and has created political and social tensions endangering our security. This is not a purely internal matter of one country, because the overflow of the political, economic and security consequences are affecting another country, that is, India. This is not an international dispute, certainly not an Indo-Pakistani dispute, for the traditional international instruments to be invoked.

We are told that the confrontation of troops is a threat to peace. Is there no threat to peace when a whole people are massacred? Will the world be concerned only if people die because of war between two countries and not if hundreds of thousands are butchered and expelled by a military regime waging war against the people?

We cannot draw upon precedents to deal with this unprecedented variety of aggression. We have to devise new patterns of response. It is in order to impress on world leaders the nature of the crisis and the means of resolving it that I wrote to heads of governments several months ago and sent some of my colleagues to meet them. We informed them that the only way out of the mess which the military rulers of Pakistan have made for themselves is to have a political settlement with the elected representatives of East Bengal, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, if he is alive, and his colleagues who embody the will of the people.

Had the world realized it then, much of this mounting misery and the migration of many more millions could have been avoided. The chances of such a settlement have grown more slender with each new day of neglect. But there might still be time if world leaders appreciated the reality of the situation.

In the various capitals I have visited on this tour I have been asked what solution India would like. The question is not what we would like, or what one or other of the big powers would like, but what the people of East Bengal will accept and what solution would be a lasting one.

I should like to plead with the world not to press me for a solution which leaves out the people of East Bengal. It is an illusion to think that the fate of a country can be decided without reference to its people. Once again, we see the old habit of underestimating the power of nationalism in Asia and of the demand of the people of Asia to make their own choice. Those who subscribe to the belief that democratically reached decisions are the most viable should recognize that the process of democracy admits no geographical disqualification. If democracy is good for you, it is good for us in India, and it is good for the people of East Bengal.

The suppression of democracy is the original cause of all the trouble

in Pakistan. The nations of the world should make up their minds who is more important to them, one man and his machine or a whole nation.

I am asked what initiatives India will take. We have taken the biggest possible initiative in remaining so self-restrained and in keeping in check the anger within our country. We have endeavoured strenuously to see that this does not become an Indo-Pakistan issue. Any direct talks between the two countries would immediately be converted into such a dispute and make the solution more difficult. Pakistan has been trying to create conditions in which the world would think that Pakistan is threatened by a more powerful neighbour. As I have said, the threat to Pakistan has come from its own rulers, not from us. When the regime there found out that its calculations did not succeed, it moved its troops to our western frontier, knowing full well that we would be forced to follow suit.

Pakistan's pleas for observers from the United Nations, for bilateral talks with India, and for mutual withdrawal of troops seemed very plausible at first sight. But these are only methods to divert the attention of the world from the root of the problem to what are merely byproducts. We cannot be sidetracked. We cannot have a dialogue with Pakistan on the future of East Bengal, because we have no right to speak for the people of East Bengal. Only Sheikh Mujib or the elected and accepted representatives of East Bengal have that right.

I have merely touched on certain points and on what I thought would interest you the most. I should like to leave the time now for questions. But I want to add only one thing, because the President of your club said that I had come here to ask for aid. I have not asked for any aid, neither in this country nor in any of the other countries which I have visited. I believe that it is not the task of any one country to say to another what they should do, even if it is a question of helping. It is my duty to put the situation in my country and its neighbourhood, to give my assessment of the situation to the leaders of the countries I visit. It is for them, then, with their own assessment and what they hear from me, to make up their mind what they think about this and what they should do about it.

My intention in coming here was, of course, primarily in response to President Nixon's invitation, which was extended to me about a year ago, long before these events took place, but also because I believe that in our fast changing world it is important for heads of government to keep in touch with leaders of other nations to find out their thinking and to be better educated about this changing world.

Question: Madame Gandhi, could you give us some description of the subjects covered in your talks with President Nixon? And what do you think the talks accomplished, if anything?

Prime Minister: This is the sort of question that I thought I would only make on the fifteenth of November when our Parliament meets and

which one has to circle around a bit. Because you could not have useful talks with heads of nations if you were immediately to divulge exactly what was talked about.

I think the talks have been useful. They have been very wide ranging, practically all over the world: Europe, Asia; bilateral matters, international matters. And what they have achieved is what I said in my remarks: I think the President knows now what we are thinking in India, and I have a better appreciation of what the American Government thinks about all these matters. I don't think I can go into greater details on this occasion.

Question: Maybe, you won't answer this, but let me ask. Initial reports suggested there was firm disagreement between you and President Nixon over the ways of reaching a political solution with Pakistan. Are these reports correct? And would you elaborate?

Prime Minister: No, this report is not correct. As I said, that it is for the US Government and the President to see what they can do in the matter. I was certainly impressed by the President's sincere desire to try and help in this very difficult situation. I think this report was largely based on the fact that we met for longer than was expected or scheduled. But that is only because we had so much to talk about. And that is why the talks overflowed to this morning also.

However close any two countries are, each country must have its own point of view, because that point of view is influenced by the geopolitical situation of the country, by the historical background, and many other experiences which can never be duplicated in two countries. So although I would say that we have a similarity of approach with the United States, we could never have an absolute identical approach — neither with the United States nor, for that matter, with any other country.

And in this, of course, we could only put to the President and his colleagues our assessment of the situation on our borders, its likely impact on India. And we do think that peace in India, stability in India, is of utmost importance, not to us only, but to Asia and, I think, the world.

Question: Did you expect President Nixon to speak up, to stand up and be counted when democracy was suppressed in East Bengal? As a result of your talks here, do you expect a change in American policy?

Prime Minister: Well, I don't think it would be fair for me to tell President Nixon what he should do. This is for him to judge, keeping very many aspects in view.

Now, you see, to say whether there would be a change in American policy — as I said, I think that the President is trying to find a way. But the whole thing has got so entangled that it isn't easy for anybody to find a way.

Question: Madame Gandhi, why does India not agree to the proposal of Yahya Khan for the withdrawal of both Indian and Pakistani troops

from the frontier?

Prime Minister: I have just touched on this point in my earlier remarks. When the refugees first started coming into India, we drew the attention of the United Nations to this fact. And at that time we were told that this was an internal problem and nothing could be done, even though we had said that the repercussions would be far-reaching. After that it was Pakistan which brought its troops right up to our western border. It was not India which moved then. The attention of the United Nations observers there was drawn to it, and they questioned this. And they were told by the Pakistanis that they were merely — what is the word? — training or doing exercises, military exercises.

Obviously, this was not a very convincing reply. Presumably, it was accepted as the truth. But we couldn't accept it as the truth. And we waited a week or so until we were convinced that our security might be in danger. You may all of you remember that we have had three aggressions on our soil, one from China and two from Pakistan. And also our lines of communication with all these border areas are not too good. It was my duty as head of the Government to see that we should not be found once again unprepared. And that is why we moved our troops up also.

By speaking about withdrawal of troops, it is again a question of diverting the world focus from the problem of East Bengal, which is the main problem. Even if troops are withdrawn — we don't really trust this — the question is of how far they are withdrawn. There is also the question of the irregular troops. In 1965 conflict, we had the experience of thousands of infiltrators being led into Kashmir in an effort to weaken the country from inside, hoping that this would give support to the later aggression by the Pakistani Army. That didn't happen, because although the infiltrators came in, our people — we didn't have any army there — the ordinary people, the farmers, the nomadic tribes who look after their goats and their cattle, these people stood up to the infiltrators and helped us to control the situation.

So there isn't only one type of confrontation. And in this particular situation, the major question is what is happening in East Bengal. And I don't think you can separate what is happening on the west from this basic question.

Question: A pair of questions, Madame Gandhi. Is India willing to accept the good offices of the UN Secretary General for defusing the dangerous India-Pakistan tension? Also, even though India is not to blame, why can't you allow UN observers in your area if it would bring peace to South Asia?

Prime Minister: To take the second question first. I would say that we do have United Nations observers. There are some on the western front for many years, and there are ten representatives of the United Nations High Commission on Refugees in the East. So it's not as if there are no

have something else and it came up under the name of the United Nations. If we now get rid of the United Nations, I am sure we shall have another body which will be practically identical under a new name.

So it is important to have some such body. But we all know that it does suffer from certain weaknesses. It is not always able to assert itself. And quite often national policies play a part within the United Nations instead of being able to lift it above to a higher plane.

Question: When Australian Prime Minister McMahon was in the Press Club the other day he said there must be no war between Pakistan and India. He said he would tell you this. Did he talk to you, and what was said?

Prime Minister: I did meet the Australian Prime Minister, but I don't remember his using these words. Naturally he is concerned, just as President Nixon is concerned and the Russian leaders and all of us are concerned, that war is not a good thing, and that war creates many new problems and entails a lot of suffering for all the people. As President Nixon has said, and others have said, in today's world there is no such thing as complete victory.

So we fully appreciate this. I myself am fully in agreement with this. But it is a question of the freedom, the security and the stability of our country. Those must be saved at all costs.

We are trying everything possible for this problem to be solved in a way other than war. We will not stop trying to look for some solution. Had notice been taken of this developing situation earlier, I am sure it could have been solved. But now many other elements have come in. First, I would like to take this opportunity to say that India has no quarrel either with Pakistan or with the people of Pakistan. But we feel that because of one person's mistakes Pakistan is suffering. And if we try just to bail that one person out, it will not be at the cost of India; it will be at the cost of Pakistan itself.

Question: Madame Gandhi, do you think that you, Golda Meir and the Prime Minister of Ceylon should form a new bloc of influential lady heads of state?

Prime Minister: Perhaps the Women's Lib here should, you know, begin a campaign for this kind of getting together of lady prime ministers. (*Laughter*)

Question: If Pakistan were to succeed in ousting its remaining Hindus, what would happen to the sixty million Moslems in India?

Prime Minister: I trust and hope that they will be perfectly safe. Although we do have people who have some very wrong ideas, and we have had riots, which we feel a cause for great shame, the Government has been very firm on this matter. And I think that today all Indians, even those parties which do not normally support us in this, are supporting us in ensuring that peace is maintained in India and our minorities feel that they enjoy the rights and privileges which are theirs under our Constitution.

I said something about our not being against Pakistan. The Foreign Secretary has very rightly drawn my attention that I should make it clear that India has no designs on any territory of Pakistan. And I will add: or on any part of East Bengal. We certainly don't want to provoke a war with Pakistan.

Question: What is your reaction to the defeat of the US foreign aid bill?

Prime Minister: I think this is an internal matter which affects many countries. . . . (*Laughter*) I can't prophesy the future. So I don't really know what is going to happen to this. So far as India is concerned, we have welcomed help, and the help which we have received from this country has enabled us to do many things which we could not otherwise have done. But little by little, we are becoming self-reliant and able to stand on our own feet.

And the real burden of development has been increasingly and overwhelmingly our own, built on the endeavour and the sacrifice of the people of India. Also, today, the foreign aid we get largely goes to repay what we got before. So it does not really help us to do very much more.

Question: What impact will the improvement of United States' relations with China have on India and on other Asian countries?

Prime Minister: It should have a good impact. Any relationship, if it is not against anybody else, increases the area of peace. And that is why we have welcomed this move. And we sincerely hope that one by one the various areas of tension in the world will be reduced.

Question: Someone wants to know about your cat, Zobra. Was it named after Zobra the Greek? And if not, after whom or what?

Prime Minister: Well, Zobra is a he and a Siamese. And I think he was named after the film because actually it was my daughter-in-law who named it. She was determined that it should have a name beginning with a "Z". And we went through the "Z" list, and everybody thought this was the nicest name. No reflection on the Greek, I hope. (*Laughter*)

Chairman: Madame Gandhi, someone wants you to discuss the role of the Indian Ocean and world peace.

Prime Minister: We would like the Indian Ocean to be an area of peace and co-operation.

Question: What is the future of the English Language in India? Will it be supplanted by Hindi?

Prime Minister: We do speak English in India. But even at the height of the British rule, the number of people who spoke it was less than two per cent. I think the number remains the same now. Our education is now in the mother tongue, not only in Hindi, but in the various other languages. We have sixteen languages. Each of our States has its own language, not a dialect but a full language with its own script, ancient literature, and so on. It is just as if the countries of Europe joined together, France speaking French and Germany speaking German, and so on.

We are trying to make Hindi a kind of national link. That is, you learn your mother tongue, and then you learn Hindi, which enables you to communicate with other Indians, and then you learn English, which enables you to communicate with other countries. But I must say that our English is our own. It doesn't always have great similarity to the English spoken either in England or in the USA. (*Laughter*)

Question: Is your recent treaty with the Soviet Union completely compatible with the policy of nonalignment, such as was promoted by your father, Prime Minister Nehru?

Prime Minister: We think it is. And a few people who have commented on it — President Tito, when he was in India, just before he came here — he also told us that he fully realized that it did not impinge on our nonalignment. And I believe that our friend Chou En-lai has also said in an interview to some foreign correspondent that it did not prevent us — that he thought it was not a change in our position.

Question: Should East Pakistan be made an independent and sovereign nation?

Prime Minister: As I said, I think that this question should be put to the people of East Bengal.

Question: A follow-up question on the Indian Ocean. Both America and the Soviet Union are sending increasing naval forces into the area. How do you feel about this?

Prime Minister: We can only hope that this will not increase the tensions there.

Question: Why doesn't India encourage more United States private investments to expedite economic development particularly in areas of resource development and in more effective distribution of food and other consumer industries?

Prime Minister: I don't think we discourage US private investment. But we do have a policy of trying to encourage Indian know-how and Indian capacity. We think that is the only way in which we can stand on our feet. So we encourage foreign investment only in those areas where we feel that India is not capable of doing that thing herself.

I think we have a fair amount of US private investment, and also from West Germany and other countries of the West. But it is true that some of our policies are a little irritating to the private industrialists, because we are concerned not only with what comes out of the country, but also where an industry is located. In the last years our sole objective was to increase industrialization. And we found that production was trebled. But it was located only in certain areas, and this increased the already existing disparities.

Now we are trying to give a broader base to our industry and to diversify it so that more and more people can come in and economic power is not left in the hands of only a few families. I am sure you

can all appreciate how important it is in a poor country that economic development should be accompanied by what the people consider to be social justice.

Question: What advice, Madame Gandhi, would you give to American women who aspire to careers in politics or government?

Prime Minister: I think that American women are quite smart enough to figure this out for themselves. (*Laughter and applause*)

Question: If a solution cannot be imposed on the people of East Bengal by the big powers, what reason is there to believe that the big powers can impose a Mid-East solution on Egypt and Israel?

Prime Minister: At this moment I think that the situation in Egypt and Israel and the Middle East is not very hopeful. But we know from experience that sometimes the tightest and most complicated of knots can be cut through. This is the only hope that some way can be found.

Earlier on, there was a question on the Soviet treaty. Perhaps you know that one of the Articles — I think it's Article IV — was especially put in in which the Soviet Union has expressed its own appreciation and respect for India's policy of nonalignment. As regards the question of refugees going back and whether the presence of somebody from the UN would help this, perhaps the whole problem would come more alive for you if I give you a comparison. For instance, we had the problem of the Jews in Hitler's Germany. Suppose you had said: "Let us send some observers there." How would it have helped the situation for the Jews there? Would it have enabled the Jews who were forced to come out because of the discrimination and the killing and the concentration camps — would it have eased the situation for them? It is a very similar situation today in East Bengal.

Question: Knowing East Bengal as you do, would you believe it to have the capability of nationhood, economically primarily, in the event they opted for independence and were granted it?

Prime Minister: This is a question which we had to face when we were fighting for our own independence. We were constantly told that the British would very happily give us independence, but India was not ready for it. Until you try and do a thing yourself, nobody knows whether you are ready or not. And I think we have certainly shown — and so have many other countries — that although once free they make mistakes, they have to make those mistakes and learn through them and stand on their feet.

Question: From India's experience, is effective birth control needed to bring development in countries like those in South America?

Prime Minister: This is one of those questions just to get me in trouble with South America. (*Laughter*) I was there a couple of years ago or so. And this was a very hotly debated subject at that time. It is really a question that each country has to decide for itself. I entirely agree that

the world's population should be so controlled that we are able to give to each child what is his due, in education, food, better health, and so on.

But I don't think it's right to feel that this is the first priority because certainly in India we find that this settles by itself to a large extent. With all the money we are spending on family planning, the areas where it has been effective are in the cities where the standard of life has gone up. And I think even perhaps without our programme people would have come to this decision and controlled their families.

Question: Who would you like to see as the next Secretary-General of the United Nations?

Prime Minister: Whoever is the most competent and the most likely to be elected. (*Laughter*)

Chairman: Someone wants to know, did you enjoy the history of the world your father wrote for you in letters from prison without reference books when you were a little girl?

Prime Minister: I enjoyed it very much; firstly, because it was a link with him, and it was the only link there was. We had interviews sometimes. But quite often for some reason — either he said he wouldn't take interviews or the prison said they wouldn't give interviews — this was the only link I had. And, secondly, because they were written from the point of view of a small girl, which histories very seldom are. And it opened up so many new doors for me that I can say that it really enriched my life right up till now.

Question: In keeping with the importance you attach to a candid exchange of views between heads of state, wouldn't it be a good idea for you to meet with the President of Pakistan?

Prime Minister: I have said that if the President of Pakistan would like to meet me to discuss the problems which exist between India and Pakistan, I would be very glad to do so. But not to discuss the problems which are not basically concerned with India. That is, the future of the people of East Bengal. Now that's not an Indian problem; it's a problem which concerns the people of East Bengal and their elected representatives.

But there is one more aspect. You can only meet a person if there is a two-way trust. I said in London that I may want to shake hands with everybody. But if there is a clenched fist, well, you just can't shake hands with it. And this is the situation. If you have been noticing the sort of remarks which the President of Pakistan is making, either about me personally or in general, it is not an attitude which shows that there could be a very friendly conversation. From my side, I am always friendly. I have never said a rude word about anybody. (*Laughter and applause*)

Question: Madame Gandli, before asking the final question, I would like to present you with a certificate of appreciation to commemorate

your visit with us today. Traditionally we give the official Press Club necktie to our speakers. For obvious reasons, I shall do it a little differently. On your return to India, I would like if you would present these to your two sons.

Prime Minister: Thank you. That is very nice of you. Thank you so much.

Question: And the final question. Have you considered unleashing Krishna Menon against the Government of Pakistan? (*Laughter*)

Prime Minister: If this question had been asked in our Parliament, we would have said it's a suggestion for action. (*Laughter*)

In continuation of the question before the last one where I said that I have not been rude with anybody, that happens to be not only because I find life more pleasant that way and that I was brought up in that way, but in the last elections I found that it paid very great political dividends. (*Laughter and applause*)

Chairman: Thank you, Madame Gandhi.

Remarks at National Press Club, Washington, November 5, 1971.

Fight Well, My Countrymen

You are fighting with courage to defend our freedom and honour. The entire country admires you. Our people are with you. The people of all regions, all languages, all religions, all political parties are united as never before. They are as determined as you to defeat the aggressor. They are imbued with boundless faith in their cause and in your capacity to meet any challenge.

The enemy has raised the false and pernicious cry of a religious war. The people of Bangladesh, who are overwhelmingly Muslims, have given a fitting reply to the military rulers of Islamabad.

You and we are fighting in defence of the great principle that the people of all religions are equally our brothers. We are defending the great ideals of equality and brotherhood, which are the life and blood of our democracy. Bharat means not only the fields, hills and rivers which make up our country, not only the 560,000 villages and towns, not only the 550 million people, but the ideals of tolerance and respect for higher morality which the very mention of India has evoked for 30 centuries.

Fight well, my countrymen. Victory will be ours.

JAI HIND

Broadcast message to officers and men of the Armed Forces, December 10, 1971.

Letter to US President

I am writing at a moment of deep anguish at the unhappy turn which the relations between our two countries have taken.

I am setting aside all pride, prejudice and passion and trying, as calmly as I can, to analyse once again the origins of the tragedy which is being enacted.

There are moments in history when brooding tragedy and its dark shadows can be lightened by recalling great moments of the past. One such great moment which has inspired millions of people to die for liberty was the Declaration of Independence by the United States of America. That Declaration stated that whenever any form of Government became destructive of man's inalienable rights to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, it was the right of the people to alter or abolish it.

All unprejudiced persons objectively surveying the grim events in Bangladesh since March 25 have recognized the revolt of 75 million people, a people who were forced to the conclusion that neither their life, nor their liberty, to say nothing of the possibility of the pursuit of happiness, was available to them. The world press, radio and television have faithfully recorded the story. The most perceptive of American scholars who are knowledgeable about the affairs of this subcontinent revealed the anatomy of East Bengal's frustrations.

The tragic war, which is continuing, could have been averted if, during the nine months prior to Pakistan attack on us on December 3, the great leaders of the world had paid some attention to the fact of revolt, tried to see the reality of the situation and searched for a genuine basis for reconciliation. I wrote letters along these lines. I undertook a tour in quest of peace, at a time when it was extremely difficult to leave the country, in the hope of presenting to some of the leaders of the world the situation as I saw it. It was heart-breaking to find that while there was sympathy for the poor refugees, the disease itself was ignored.

War could also have been avoided if the power, influence and authority of all the States, and above all of the United States, had got Sheikh Mujibur Rahman released. Instead, we were told that a civilian administration was being installed. Everyone knows that this civilian administration was a farce; today the farce has turned into a tragedy.

Lip service was paid to the need for a political solution, but not a single worthwhile step was taken to bring this about. Instead, the rulers of West Pakistan went ahead holding farcical elections to seats which had been arbitrarily declared vacant.

There was not even a whisper that anyone from the outside world had tried to have contact with Mujibur Rahman. Our earnest plea that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman should be released, or that, even if he were to be kept under detention, contact with him might be established, was not considered practical on the ground that the US could not urge policies which might lead to the overthrow of President Yahya Khan. While the

United States recognized that Mujib was a core factor in the situation and that unquestionably in the long run Pakistan must acquiesce in the direction of greater autonomy for East Pakistan, arguments were advanced to demonstrate the fragility of the situation and of Yahya Khan's difficulty.

Mr President, may I ask you in all sincerity: Was the release or even secret negotiations with a single human being, namely, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, more disastrous than the waging of a war?

The fact of the matter is that the rulers of West Pakistan got away with the impression that they could do what they liked because no one, not even the United States, would choose to take a public position that while Pakistan's integrity was certainly sacrosanct, human rights, liberty were no less so and that there was a necessary interconnection between the inviolability of states and the contentment of their people.

Mr President, despite the continued defiance by the rulers of Pakistan of the most elementary facts of life, we would still have tried our hardest to restrain the mounting pressure as we had for nine long months, and war could have been prevented had the rulers of Pakistan not launched a massive attack on us by bombing our airfields in Amritsar, Pathankot, Srinagar, Avantipur, Uttarlai, Jodhpur, Ambala and Agra in the broad daylight on December 3, 1971, at a time when I was away in Calcutta, my colleague, the Defence Minister, was in Patna and was due to leave further for Bangalore in the South and another senior colleague of mine, the Finance Minister, was in Bombay. The fact that this initiative was taken at this particular time of our absence from the Capital showed perfidious intentions. In the face of this, could we simply sit back trusting that the rulers of Pakistan or those who were advising them, had peaceful, constructive and reasonable intent?

We are asked what we want. We seek nothing for ourselves. We do not want any territory of what was East Pakistan and now constitutes Bangladesh. We do not want any territory of West Pakistan. We do want lasting peace with Pakistan. But will Pakistan give up its ceaseless and yet pointless agitation of the last twenty-four years over Kashmir? Are they willing to give up their hate campaign and posture of perpetual hostility towards India? How many times in the last twenty-four years have my father and I offered a Pact of Non-aggression to Pakistan? It is a matter of recorded history that each time such offer was made, Pakistan rejected it out of hand.

We are deeply hurt by the innuendoes and insinuations that it was we who have precipitated the crisis and have in any way thwarted the emergence of solutions. I do not really know who is responsible for this calumny. During my visit to the United States, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Austria and Belgium, the point I emphasized, publicly as well as privately, was the immediate need for a political settlement. We

waited nine months for it. When Dr Kissinger came in July 1971, I had emphasized to him the importance of seeking an early political settlement. But we have not received, even to this day, the barest framework of a settlement which would take into account the facts as they are and not as we imagine them to be.

Be that as it may, it is my earnest and sincere hope that with all the knowledge and deep understanding of human affairs you, as President of the United States and reflecting the will, the aspirations and the idealism of the great American people, will at least let me know where precisely we have gone wrong before your representatives or spokesmen deal with us with such harshness of language.

With regards and best wishes,

Letter dated December 15, 1971, from Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, to Mr Richard Nixon, President of the United States of America.

Pakistan Forces Surrender

I have an announcement to make. The West Pakistan forces have unconditionally surrendered in Bangladesh. The instrument of surrender was signed in Dacca at 16.31 hours IST today by Lt Gen A.A.K. Niazi on behalf of the Pakistan Eastern Command. Lt Gen Jagjit Singh Aurora, GOC-in-C of the Indian and Bangladesh forces in the Eastern Theatre, accepted the surrender. Dacca is now the free capital of a free country.

This House and the entire nation rejoice in this historic event. We hail the people of Bangladesh in their hour of triumph. We hail the brave young men and boys of the Mukti Bahini for their valour and dedication. We are proud of our own Army, Navy, Air Force and the Border Security Force, who have so magnificently demonstrated their quality and capacity. Their discipline and devotion to duty are well known. India will remember with gratitude the sacrifices of those who have laid down their lives, and our thoughts are with their families.

Our Armed Forces are under strict orders to treat Pakistani prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva Convention and to deal with all sections of the population of Bangladesh in a humane manner. The Commanders of the Mukti Bahini have issued similar orders to their forces. Although the Government of Bangladesh have not yet been given an opportunity to sign the Geneva Convention, they also have declared that they will fully abide by it. It will be the responsibility of the Government of Bangladesh, the Mukti Bahini and the Indian Armed Forces to prevent any reprisals.

Our objectives were limited — to assist the gallant people of Bangladesh and their Mukti Bahini to liberate their country from a reign of terror and to resist aggression on our own land. Indian Armed Forces will not remain in Bangladesh any longer than is necessary.

The millions who were driven out of their homes across our borders have already begun trekking back. The rehabilitation of this war-torn land calls for dedicated team work by its Government and people.

We hope and trust that the Father of this new nation, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, will take his rightful place among his own people and lead Bangladesh to peace, progress and prosperity. The time has come when they can together look forward to a meaningful future in their Sonar Bangla. They have our good wishes.

The triumph is not theirs alone. All nations who value the human spirit will recognize it as a significant milestone in man's quest for liberty.

Statement in Parliament, December 16, 1971.

Offer of Unilateral Cease-fire

On March 31, 1971, six days after the great upheaval in Bangladesh, I had the honour to move a Resolution in this House.

I said then that India's permanent interest in peace and our commitment to uphold and defend human rights demanded the immediate cessation of the use of force and of the massacre of the defenceless people of Bangladesh. I had called upon all peoples and Governments to take urgent and constructive steps to prevail upon the Government of Pakistan to immediately end the systematic decimation of a people.

I had concluded my statement by expressing the profound conviction of this House that the historic upsurge of the 75 million people of East Bengal would triumph. We also gave an assurance that their struggle and sacrifice would receive the wholehearted sympathy and support of the people of India.

Today the pledge we then made together in this House and in the country stands redeemed.

It is natural that the people of India should be elated. We can also understand the great rejoicing of the people of Bangladesh. I share the elation and the joy. But as the *Gita* says, neither joy nor sorrow should tilt the balance of our equanimity or blur our vision of the future.

All those who have borne arms, all those who have been involved in the planning and direction of the operations, all the people of India who have responded so generously — these are to be thanked and congratulated.

It is a victory but a victory not only of arms but of ideals. The Mukti Bahini could not have fought so daringly but for its passionate urge for freedom and the establishment of a special identity of Bangladesh. Our own forces could not have been so fearless and relentless had they not been convinced of their cause.

India has stood for breadth of vision, tolerance of the points of view of others, of being in the battle, yet above it.

We stand for democracy, for secularism and for socialism. Only this combination opens the way for full freedom, gives protection to the weaker sections and the opportunity for the growth of different personalities. We believe that no nation can be built on concepts which are negative or which do not have meaning for all its people. Unfortunately, Pakistan had based its policies on hatred for and confrontation with India.

While we rededicate ourselves to our ideals, I hope the people of Pakistan will seek a path which is more in keeping with their circumstances and needs. These 24 years we have heard many aggressive speeches and much abusive and false propaganda against us. We cannot believe that this is the true voice of the Pakistani people. They have been kept in darkness by their successive regimes.

We want to assure them that we have no enmity towards them. There are more things in common than those which divide us. We should like to fashion our relations with the people of Pakistan on the basis of

friendship and understanding. Let them live as masters in their own house and devote their energies to the removal of poverty and inequalities in their country.

It is this sincere desire which prompted us last evening to instruct our Army, Navy and Air Force to cease operations from 20.00 hours today on all fronts in the West.

I am grateful for the support which all political parties of the country have given throughout this difficult period and specially to this initiative on behalf of peace.

This offer was communicated to the world community by our Minister of External Affairs, Sardar Swaran Singh, in New York. We also had it formally conveyed to the Government of Pakistan through the Swiss Embassy. We hope that the people and rulers of Pakistan will appreciate and reciprocate this offer.

The consequences which flow from a failure to do so will rest squarely upon the military rulers of Pakistan. However, regardless of what happens on the Western front, let us not be complacent. The coming months specially will bring new and complex problems. We must be ever vigilant to safeguard our integrity and our interests, and above all the fundamental beliefs of our national existence.

Statement in Parliament, December 17, 1971.

Twenty-five Years of Freedom

We have gathered from all parts of the country to live again a moment of history when out of the long gloom of feudalism and foreign rule, India awoke to freedom and democracy. We have come to remember with gratitude the long succession of those who have gone before us. The Father of the Nation reinterpreted our ancient values and traditions and transformed ideals that seemed unattainable into powerful instruments of political action. His message reached out to village and town, inspired the educated, brought understanding to the simplest and awakened long suppressed aspirations.

Our movement was a non-violent one. It released unthought of qualities in our people and revealed the many faces of courage. By participating in a cause larger than himself, every Indian grew in stature. Some groups followed the more familiar path of armed confrontation. Many were the instances of individual daring and self-sacrifice. I recall also the work of the Indian National Army away from our shores.

My mind goes still further back, beyond personal memory, to the great rising of 1857. The immediate cause does not matter. Perhaps deep in the subconscious, underlying sentiments of caste and religion was another stirring, the search for identity.

It was a remarkable century. The darkness of oppression was illumined by great intellects. Men of religion were also revolutionaries. Poets, scientists, indeed people of all professions, were one in a great objective — the resurgence of the nation.

Ultimately, success was achieved by the countless men and women, unknown and unsung who served our cause by their numbers no less than their dedication.

What was our strength? Oppressed and humiliated as we were, our leaders raised us above fear and hate. Transcending all hardship, we focussed our gaze on a vision of the future. We had faith that a people who moved with dignity and courage could not be cowed; that India awakened could never again be subdued.

We have always believed that freedom is indivisible. We have been in touch with movements for liberation everywhere and have contributed to them. Today we reaffirm our solidarity with the many Asian and African countries which became free with us or soon after, the latest of whom is Bangladesh, and with all those who are still struggling for freedom or development.

At the moment of Independence, our energies turned from the tension of struggle to the immediate problems of Partition and the vast new responsibilities which we had assumed. That night, Jawaharlal Nehru said in a mood of prophecy: "The future is not one of ease or resting but of incessant striving so that we may fulfil the pledges that we have so often taken." A quarter of a century has since elapsed, during which we have had our share of failure and success, of tragedy and triumph. And yet we

can take pride in the undeniable fact that despite the long sequence of challenges, we are today stronger — politically, economically, and socially. Our national unity, democracy, secularism and socialism remain strong and firm.

Our quest has been friendship with all, submission to none. Our fight was not for ourselves alone but for all mankind. Nor was it merely for political independence in its narrow sense. We were determined to change the old order, to eradicate poverty, to emancipate society from rigid stratification, evil customs and superstition.

The struggle for freedom began when the first man was enslaved and it will continue until the last man is freed not merely of visible bondage but of the concepts of inferiority due to race, colour, caste or sex. Only those who are free in spirit can be the torch bearers of freedom and pioneers of the future.

The greatness for which we strive is not the arrogance of military power or the avarice of economic exploitation. It is the true greatness of the spirit which India has cherished through the millennia. Man in the nuclear age stands at a crucial crossroads in his destiny. Let us rededicate ourselves not only to the service of India and her great people, but beyond to the broader goals of world peace and human welfare so that generations yet unborn can live with dignity and fulfilment, as part of the great world family.

JAI HIND

Speech at the midnight session of Parliament on August 14-15, 1972.

Section II

(ii) The Congress and Its Mission

At the Helm

It has been an eventful year, full of difficulties and problems on the national as well as the international plane. I think we can say that we have met these problems with courage and determination. For me, personally, the year's work has been sometimes exhilarating, sometimes exasperating but at all times worth while and interesting. Here I shall deal only with lesser matters which like small screws are responsible for holding together the different parts of the big machine.

With the exception of Orissa, where I was unable to go because of ill-health, I had the opportunity of visiting every State in India, including Kashmir, and of meeting the workers of the area and often enough members of the Opposition as well. The physical strain of the tours was more than compensated by the affection and enthusiasm of the people. In the $4\frac{1}{2}$ days I spent in Maharashtra I travelled 1,500 miles and I was told I had addressed 15 lakh people. The picture was substantially the same in all the other States.

A special feature of my meetings and other functions was the complexion of the audience which consisted of a large number of young men and women. Everywhere I was told that so many women had never been seen except at religious fairs, and it was a surprise to the local people that women would be willing to suffer considerable inconvenience for the sake of coming to a political function. The number of women in our committees and organizations such as the village panchayats, as well as the importance given to Mahila Mandals everywhere, is indicative of the revolutionary change in the status of women.

Young men and women from colleges, industrial areas as well as in the villages took enthusiastic and active part at all my functions. This was not the only indication that a distinct change for the better has come about in our contact with the youth of the country: Young people, specially students, are showing greater responsiveness and are turning to the Congress in greater numbers, probably in answer to the increasing effort made by the organization to provide outlets for their aspirations. A large number of young people are now members of our mandal and district committees. These and other appointments of young people are becoming more acceptable to our elders. The election of Shri D. Sanjiviah as the Chief Minister of Andhra at the age of 38 is a case in point. It has given genuine satisfaction and created enthusiasm all over the country.

While doubtlessly there is no dearth of factionalism and petty group quarrels, there is also solid work being done and quiet and efficient workers exist everywhere and in every field of activity. It is as well that we do not get swept off our feet either by complacency at our very real achievements or by despair because of the criticism levelled at us by the press or the Opposition.

It is time now to assess the situation, to weigh the credit and the debit. On the credit side we have the progress made by our Congress Governments

and the enthusiasm of the people. We note with satisfaction that there is now greater realization of the value of a variety of small new schemes spread out over the country and providing improved version of ordinary tools. These bring technological progress right on the doorsteps of the farmer and give him a better understanding of the big works that are being undertaken. This understanding and the immediate benefit derived from these ventures will facilitate the farmer's participation in development programmes.

In agriculture, industry, education and welfare programmes, we are making steady progress. But even more important is the change which is coming about in the people's thinking — a slow but sure awakening to the possibilities inherent in programmes which are being planned, and the opportunity which can come their way. The reorientation in thinking and the manner in which the long dormant masses are slowly and painfully coming alive is a phenomenon that has impressed me greatly. Obsessed by notions of stability and tradition, they regarded novelty with deep repugnance; and yet one now sees that new programmes and new ideas are becoming part and parcel of their life and experience and this is happening in spite of tremendous odds. Traditional social patterns are disintegrating and, deprived of this crutch, this support of the old society, the people feel confused and lost. In these times the role of the political worker is more difficult than ever, for he is himself confused and yet has to bear the blame for the difficulties and perils which are inherent in our changing life and in our progress. . . . He is also blamed for the shortcomings of the administration. To meet this challenge, our workers should be able to convey to the people a more thorough understanding of our fundamental principles and of the new social goals which can do justice to their nascent sense of freedom and equality. Often enough our workers themselves lack this knowledge.

This lack of a thorough training programme for our workers at all levels is our great weakness and we can only ignore its urgency at our peril. I proposed that we plan for a central and permanent training institute which would certainly not replace the present provincial and district training camps but would reinforce them and enable them to be more effective.

To stress the importance of a sincere appreciation of our ideology and the programmes that are adopted to transform it into reality, we are requesting information regarding the ideological stand of candidates who wish to stand for elections. It would soon be possible to be stricter and to lay even greater emphasis on this aspect.

The completely false propaganda which was launched by certain sections against the co-operative movement succeeded in causing considerable confusion in the minds of our peasants and rural workers, but it could not fully succeed in retarding the progress of the movement. Many credit

societies have been converted into multipurpose societies and new ones have come into being. Our efforts must be redoubled if we are to achieve our targets.

We have tried to establish a more practical and down-to-earth trend in our functioning and to give more thought to detail. A great deal of time and energy was wasted during our organizational elections. This led to neglect or postponing of many items of work. I do realize that our present electoral system was devised after considerable deliberation and that normally it would not be desirable to attempt to effect a change so soon. However, since in practice the method has proved cumbersome and unsatisfactory, I hope it will be possible to find some way of simplifying the procedure. We have issued instructions for the keeping down of expense for the elections to the Assembly and Parliament also.

We have proposed the appointment of an audit team for our organization. The details of the functioning have not been finalized but the main purpose is to check the working and the efficiency of the organization at different levels. It is our sincere hope that the team will not deteriorate into a vehicle for receiving complaints. As far as complaints and allegations of corruption or malpractice are concerned, we have always given a hearing and attempted to have each case that is referred to us properly investigated. There is, however, much loose talk and indiscipline amongst Congress members and this should be dealt with firmly. The holding of conventions and meetings to condemn Congress Governments, which are reported to the press and the issuing of press statements of a similar nature, must be condemned. While any serious allegation should be enquired into and appropriate action taken, it is equally necessary to take action against those making false allegations. It has been my experience that our desire to be fair to all has been taken advantage of and has been exploited by some to get publicity for themselves, or their group, often to the detriment of the interests of the party and the country. It is my firm view that a more positive attitude towards the work accomplished will do more to bring about a cleaner atmosphere than any disciplinary action.

The Planning Subcommittee has done useful work. Its report has provoked thinking and discussion among Congressmen and others. I am glad that it has stressed the importance of education and of child welfare, for that is the only truly solid foundation for our Plans and our hopes for the future.

You are all familiar with the developments in Kerala which led to a crisis, because of which the people are today again preparing for an election. These events pose a question: What steps can and should be taken to curb the activities of parties which violate the Constitution, or threaten the unity of the country, or provoke antinational or antisocial action? I am not in favour of the banning of parties, but true freedom cannot flourish unless licence is limited.

Since the linguistic reorganization of States, it seemed invidious to make

an exception in the case of Bombay. While provincialism and linguism do bring a certain unity and strength within the individual State, there is the danger of these forces becoming aggressive and consequently weakening the feeling of national unity. In the words of one of our professors, "Let us concentrate on creating institutions which bring together people from different States in grappling with common problems and tasks, thus breeding the realization of loyalty to a wider entity." Let us lay stress not on differences but on the basic similarities which bind us together.

A proposal has also been made for the formation of a Board of Social and National Integration. We have had a section in the office dealing with matters concerning the minorities, but the scope of work was rather limited and a demand has been growing for more effective mass contact. A central board with representatives or branches in the States would act as a bridge between the AICC and the views of various communities. Religious and cultural differences are of significance and add spice to life, but our aim should be to transcend the superficial diversity in a sense of oneness, based on common values, traditions and interests.

The most startling event was the Chinese incursion into our territory. This rightly roused the country to indignation and anger. Some of this energy was dissipated in protest marches or signature campaigns, instead of being concentrated in certain practical and definite steps which should prove our national solidarity and prepare us to face this common danger in a united manner. At a time like this, as the old *cliché* goes, one hopes and tries for the best but prepares for the worst. Therefore, we must now make up for lost time and galvanize the entire nation into prompt action. In our own ranks, as well as in the Opposition parties and the public, we must bring about a deeper realization of the seriousness of the situation and of the urgent need to strengthen not just our defences, but our economy which, in the ultimate analysis, would have to bear the brunt of defence at the frontier as well as the strain of keeping civilian life as near normal as possible. Needless to say, our economic advance is dependent on our scientific, industrial and agricultural advance.

It is a matter for satisfaction that our President is young and full of energy and drive, besides being a capable administrator. He deserves our loyalty and full co-operation.

While we live and struggle, there will be problems to solve and difficulties to overcome. Whatever it is we wish to achieve, we can do only with discipline, determination and dynamism.

Extracts from speech at the time of laying down office of Congress President at Bangalore, January 12, 1960.

Adhering to the Path

I have been trying to recollect since how many years I have been attending these AICC sessions. The first which I remember was in 1920 or 1921 in Nagpur, and since then there have been only a few which I have not attended. The Congress was then marching towards the big goal of Independence and the whole country was with us. That was our strength and we were in close touch with the masses. Rather India, the Congress and the people of India were all one. Today it is not so.

While listening to many speeches here I heard a lot of criticism of leaders and policies and it happens in Parliament too. Often in these speeches Jawaharlalji's name was also mentioned. Many things came to my mind. There are people who really respected him, but there are also some people who respected neither him nor his policies while he was alive. You may have come across an old English couplet about the great Greek poet, Homer:

"Seven cities warred for Homer dead,
Through which the living Homer begged his bread."

We have a similar case here. While Panditji was alive, people were not prepared to accept his leadership and they were talking all sorts of things. Today, when he is not in our midst, they are prepared to accept his leadership. Today they are all talking about the policies of Jawaharlalji and Gandhiji, of how they had strengthened the Congress, how they had led the nation.

In all this, we must not forget the fundamentals. There are three pillars to support our organization and the country, and they are: secularism, democracy and socialism. We have seen that while we were fighting with Pakistan, the country banished communalism. The country stood united and that gave strength to our democracy. Today in our country democracy is quite strong. We know that for a poor country like India democracy has no meaning unless it follows the path of socialism. But all these things are tools, and not goals in themselves. Our adopting the path of socialism should be for the purpose of fighting poverty. Nehruji and Gandhiji repeatedly said that our approach should be dynamic. They always viewed things with foresight considering the current needs of the public. Actually our object is to achieve the welfare of the masses.

Some people can be heard saying that the Government has done nothing and that democracy is about to collapse. But the fact remains that there is a healthy democracy in the country. It is true that during the last five years the progress of the country has been slow in comparison with the earlier years. But I may point out that even in those years of rapid progress the same things were being said. This slow pace of development has been due to the last aggression, to drought, etc. The most grievous result of the aggression and drought, however, has been that we seem to have lost confidence in our potentialities.

No fruitful purpose will be served by criticizing the leaders, as they are

your elected representatives. If you do not desire a particular leader to continue as your representative, you can choose another representative. But the real question is that of changing the party. Our party has a long history. It has adopted only those policies which it wants to execute. Shri Tyagi has just referred to many things with which I quite agree. Rather, I myself have been saying them, which can be confirmed by referring to my speeches while I was the Congress President. In regard to planning I have always said that we must concentrate on the villages and then on the cities. Actually we do not have sufficient funds or other resources to meet all our needs. I feel that in the order of priorities we adopt in the field of development, the village should come first, followed by the district and the province.

Steps should be taken to remove the shortcomings experienced in the earlier plans. We have to be very cautious in this regard lest we commit irreparable mistakes. I do not mean that by this approach the Government washes its hands of all responsibility. But the party also owes some responsibility. I may submit very humbly that the party has not contributed its due share in this regard. It is only the party, and not the Government, that can propagate national policies.

The blame for the failure of some policies lies equally with the party and the Government. For example, neither has taken constructive steps to remove the disparity between the rich and the poor. The party alone can canalize public forces for such a cause. The party has not been able to bring about the social revolution which the country needs. Because of this, the Government machinery is left alone to implement our plans, and our needs are so extensive that very little success is achieved. In the circumstances we must see which programme should be taken up and which should not be taken up. We must examine what might be the possible hurdles in our way. It is, of course, true that in a vast country like ours we have to wait till something tangible is achieved. The combined effort of all sections of society will result in social change.

I do not fear criticism. I have always faced it. Despite the criticism, I can say that only the Congress party, being the most powerful party in India, can lead the nation along the path of progress. The task before us has to be tackled through combined effort. Thus alone can we achieve fundamental integration of our society, apart from evolving the right solutions for our problems.

I know that without the proper development of agriculture and of the agriculturists, the country is not going to progress at all. Shri Tyagi just said that the farmers should be asked what they want. But may I say that putting such a question to the farmers of various States will produce different replies? In some States the farmers have adopted a new approach to their problems, whereas in others they have not. For those sections which have not so far adopted a new approach, we have to redouble our

efforts. Today I met some farmers from Maharashtra. Their demand was for manure. Naturally, those who want to increase their produce of cereals should be provided with all assistance. It is also said sometimes that proposals and declarations are not executed. This has evidently an element of truth. But now we are taking up only those tasks of urgent necessity for which sufficient funds and other requisites are available. Although I cannot comment on whether the task taken up will be completed, I can say that every effort will be made to make the programme a success.

I hope that the organization is devoting due attention to the villages, talukas, districts, and cities and finding out what programmes are being implemented. We have to so develop our organization that it fulfils the expectations of the public. We have to revive contact with those sections with which we have lost contact.

In regard to foreign aid, it is said that we should discontinue taking any further aid. I would only submit that before bringing about such a change in national policy, we should examine how far we are self-sufficient. How much self-confidence do our people have? My personal view is that we should not let the country be exposed to any foreign influence. Some countries have been trying to introduce their influence in our country as well as in other countries. Some countries have yielded to their influence whereas others have not.

I may be excused for saying that I have all along been associated with my father in framing various national policies during his lifetime. His approach is an integral part of my mind. But people who opposed him during his lifetime now presume to explain his policies to me! Is this not very surprising? I have followed my father's policies, but I would not hesitate to deviate from them if the interests of the nation called for it. But I am sure that there is no need for doing so. There is no other way by which the pace of the country's progress can be accelerated. I shall pursue only those policies which I consider to be in the best interests of our people. If you do not want me to continue in my post, you are welcome to remove me. I am certainly grateful for the honour bestowed upon me, but I may tell you quite frankly that I do not crave to continue as Prime Minister. I feel that if I resort to pleasing people by way of dittoing their convictions, that would amount to disowning my father, because I have been trained by him along certain lines and I shall always stick to them.

The country is passing through a very critical stage. The problem of food shortage has to be tackled properly. The party can help us in this matter by creating the right atmosphere. We can avoid waste of food by doing away with grand feasts. I have heard some Ministers say that rules and regulations cannot be adhered to everywhere. The party can well keep a watch on what is happening in society, what maladies society is suffering from. The public is pointing out the same defects in the Congress party which the party is pointing out in the Government. The public feels that

the Congress party does not care for the interests of the masses. We should remove this impression.

There was discussion here as to how we can increase food production. I do not know how much we shall be able to do in solving the food problem. I must, however, point out that the Congress party is something more than a mere political party. Gandhiji laid as much stress on constructive work as on political work. Thus both aspects can be looked into simultaneously. If this task is equitably distributed among all party workers, from the lowest rung of the ladder to the topmost party leaders, you will see that the defects being complained of now will be removed in no time.

As Tyagiji said, we should ask the farmers directly what they need. But we have party workers at the village level. Why should they not speak up in regard to local needs? They should see what is going on in their localities. I hope that with this we shall be able to present a picture of solidarity and strength. Although the elections are some distance away, yet the election campaign could be started with this constructive approach. We should know the problems of the public and should try our best to remove them. The Government with its meagre resources can bring about results only when the party mobilizes its force to help the Government.

If we cannot execute all the present programmes in regard to agriculture, we shall be in for a rude shock. Hence we must put our heart and soul into the execution of these programmes. I would appeal to everybody to take keen interest in it. Non-agriculturists should also consider how they can help in the implementation of these programmes. We cannot solve our problems merely by delivering speeches. Nor shall we advance towards socialism in this way. The results will depend on the labour we put in, not merely the expenditure.

Our task is to transform our dream of socialist society suited to our country into a practical reality. Public opinion has to be mobilized by the Government and the Congress. If the party marches forward hand in hand with the Government in the execution of various programmes, the picture of India will be quite different.

I hope that the party which has been founded on high ideals will adhere to them in future as well. This should be the most significant gain from this session of the AICC. The party has to take up this task with the same spirit as an army takes up its mission.

JAI HIND

Speech at the All-India Congress Committee, Delhi, May 1966. Translated from Hindi.

Instrument of Change

The Congress party came into being as an instrument of change, to free India from colonial bondage and simultaneously to prepare the ground for bringing economic welfare and social justice to our people. There is no doubt that since the attainment of freedom vast changes have taken place which have touched the lives of millions of people. In the last two decades there has been a marked, overall growth as well as diversification in the economy. However, the impact of this growth on various sections of the people has not been even. Those who are well off, whether in the agricultural or in the industrial sector, have benefited comparatively more than the weaker sections.

National strength and self-reliance can be attained and preserved in the long run only when the weaker sections are strengthened and social inequalities and injustices are corrected. Higher production must result in more for those who need it most. In all that we do, our aim should be to expand the national product rapidly and in a manner which serves our social purpose.

The public sector must continue to occupy a special place in our policies and our outlook. While there are legitimate grounds to feel dissatisfied with the performance of some sections of the public sector, we should not forget that a great deal of fire is deliberately directed against the public sector by those who are ideologically committed to the system of market economy.

It is the process of development and growth which has sharpened the political consciousness of the people, aroused new desires and demands and has made them impatient with present conditions. Education has grown faster than employment, and so we have hundreds of thousands of young people clamouring to enter the professions. The new agricultural strategy was a necessity at a time when millions of lives were dependent upon greater foodgrain production. Yet it did enable some sections of agriculturists to become richer, thus widening the gap between them and the farmers with dry land. Naturally, the increasing awareness of the people and their belief that a better life is possible focuses attention on the problems which have not yet been satisfactorily tackled. In some sections there is frustration and amongst others, concern, or lack of understanding of the process of the change. Life in the contemporary world is highly competitive. When there is not enough to go round, rivalries and tensions build up. What is true of individuals is also true of groups and regions — leading to a heightening of caste, communal and regional tensions. Therefore, it is understandable that new political forces should emerge and that they should attempt to take full advantage of this situation.

Parties without an all-India perspective, without belief in the equality of all religions, without even basic faith in democracy have hastened to exploit these tensions. Sometimes they seek to build up a confrontation between Centre *v.* States in order to distort realities.

In any large, federal country, the problem of the Centre and the States is one which demands continuing attention and readjustment as different issues arise. But the basic question today is not one of confrontation between the Centre and the States, but between those who have an all-India picture and those who have regional, sectional, or partisan objectives. At the same time, we have seen that it is possible for democratic public opinion to act upon and influence some of these forces and to alter their outlook. The Congress has a truly all-India outlook and deep roots in every region of the land. As a party committed to the path of peaceful social transformation, it can and must exert and extend its influence.

Congressmen and women bear a heavy responsibility. They must not lose their sense of balance but must endeavour to view problems in perspective. The future cannot be won by slogans. There is no easy way or short-cut. Development alone can solve the problem of unemployment or economic disparities. All States and all regions have projects which are essential. But development means not only prestigious projects but the provision of water, construction of roads and other schemes which touch the common man in villages and towns. These programmes are today hampered by the lack of resources. The Congress must once again reach out to the people to seek their co-operation and participation in all nation-building activities.

The Congress can proclaim with pride that it has never identified democracy with its own rule. We concede full freedom to all parties to propagate alternative economic and political policies, but not to weaken the foundations of national cohesion and integrity.

We must keep in mind that no nation or party can live upon its past record. It must constantly renew itself. The challenge before the Congress today is to renew itself and to be identified in the people's minds as a party of the future.

Our party and the nation can be strengthened by fighting always for national integrity and secularism, by combating all forces of narrowness and sectionalism, by striving to overcome disparities and by working for progress in all directions. The time is not for discouragement but for hope, not for disparagement but for going ahead with determination and confidence.

Article in volume published at the time of the Faridabad Session of the Indian National Congress, April 1969.

Note on Economic Policy

The time has come to restate our economic policy and set the direction in which we have to move to achieve our social goal. This has become all the more necessary in view of doubts that have been raised with regard to our intentions and our willingness to take the hard and difficult steps which are necessary. In respect of many of the items some steps have already been taken but what is important is to intensify our efforts and to keep the social goal all along in the forefront.

The Congress has always championed the cause of the weaker sections, minorities and the under-privileged. This should continue to be the policy of the Congress.

- (a) Impose ceiling on unproductive expenditure and conspicuous consumption of corporate bodies;
- (b) Nationalized financial institutions should introduce a change in credit worthiness criteria in their lending policies, so as to encourage professional and competent persons;
- (c) Special efforts should be made to finance new entrepreneurs in less developed regions and a special fund should be provided for provision of assistance to backward regions;
- (d) Expeditious appointment of Monopolies Commission manned by persons of integrity;
- (e) Public sector projects should be given more autonomy and manned by young competent persons committed to the project;
- (f) Special effort should be made to build up a cadre for public sector projects;
- (g) The consumer industries should be reserved wherever possible for development in the co-operative and small-scale sector and entry of big business should be banned in the manufacture of these products;
- (h) Special efforts should be made to encourage new talent to provide avenues of employment to the young and educated;
- (i) Foreign capital should not be allowed to enter fields in which local technical know-how is available;
- (j) Heavy penalties should be imposed on those who indulge in restrictive trade practices.

There are other suggestions which may not fit within the present policy framework. However, I have already asked the Finance Ministry and the Planning Commission to look into the feasibility of imposing ceilings on incomes and holdings of urban properties.

There is strong feeling in the country regarding the nationalization of private commercial banks. We had taken a decision at an earlier AICC but perhaps we may review it. Neither we can consider the nationalization of the top five or six banks or issue directions that the resources of banks should be reserved to a larger extent for public purposes. Investments of banks in Government securities stood at 24.75 per cent on June 13. This is of course a fluctuating figure. During the busy season, banks

liquidate their investments in Government securities and finance trade and industry. During the slack season, when the funds return, investment in securities is increased. This figure of investment in securities could be raised on the average for both slack and busy sessions by about 5 per cent. This will make available about Rs 200 crores for the public sector. Against this, it may be argued that this will involve denial of credit to trade and industry and will also affect the profitability of the banks. But in times of credit squeeze, private industry somehow adjusts itself. They mobilize deposits on their own, cut their inventories, or bring in unaccounted money and somehow manage. The question whether banks' investment in Government securities should not be raised has to be seriously considered. If necessary this extra 5 per cent can be invested in special types of securities, proceeds being utilized for quick-yielding schemes like minor irrigation programmes, rural electrification, fisheries, etc.

Even after the new policy of social control and reconstitution of Board of Directors, the former industrialist-chairmen of the banks still continue on the Board and naturally influence the present chairman who had previously been general manager. We may examine whether through legislation or otherwise we can prevent these men from continuing on the Boards. The chief executives of the banks will not then feel obliged to the former chairman and may be expected to take an independent line in regard to lendings.

While it may not be practical to nationalize all import and export, can we not consider the nationalization of the import of raw materials? This would make collective bargaining possible and might get us better prices. The policy of the distribution of such import licences should also be reviewed. We should review the licensing system so that licences are not given only to the bigger houses. Shares could be distributed more equitably.

We have already decided in Cabinet that Ministries of the Central Government should first approach the public sector with regard to their requirements before they decide to buy from the private sector or import. I believe some State Governments have issued such directions to their Ministries, but Congress Governments have a special responsibility in this regard.

Some thought should also be given to profit-sharing in industrial establishments, but alongside this some schemes should be thought of with regard to incentives for greater production as well as the regulation of the work.

I fully realize that overall development is the best and the only reliable way of increasing employment opportunities. However, the situation is so acute in the country that it has become necessary to have some special programmes to give employment in the rural areas as well as to the educated. Naturally, whatever scheme we think of cannot be adequate to meet the situation but it should give the impression that we are taking a first step and making a genuine effort.

Agriculture

- (a) Service co-operatives should be built up in rural areas;
- (b) Special assistance should be provided to small agriculturists and farm co-operatives to enable them to take processing of agro-based and other industries;
- (c) Special attention should be paid to development of minor irrigation projects, etc.

Land Reforms

Land reform is no less important. If we do not act urgently, grave political and economic problems will arise. From time to time suggestions have been made to improve the lot of the tenant and of landless agricultural labour:

1. Declare all tenancies as non-resumable;
2. Give the tenants the right to mortgage their interest in land for obtaining credit;
3. Place restrictions on sale of land by Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes in favour of others;
4. Enforce ceiling on land holdings energetically;
5. Draw up a programme for the distribution of Government wasteland and lands held by panchayats;
6. Enact legislation to protect tenants, agricultural workers, from eviction from their house sites.

If these points are agreed to, the following minimum programme is indicated:

- (i) A tenant should not be liable for eviction as long as he pays his rent regularly. Provision to this effect exists in tenancy laws of most States, but the law is not enforced effectively. States should be asked to set up special machinery for effective implementation of this measure. Penalties should be suitably enhanced;
- (ii) There should be a proper record of rights of tenants;
- (iii) Land ceiling laws already implemented should be enforced;
- (iv) Restrictions could be placed on purchase of land belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, but whether similar restriction could also be placed on land belonging to Backward Classes is doubtful.

The list of Backward Classes is pretty long in many States.

The suggestion that tenants should be also given the right to hypothecate their interest in land to obtain credit for agricultural development may meet with resistance. There would be no serious objection to credit being made available for short-term purposes, for example, seeds, fertilizers, etc., on the security of the crop. But in regard to long-term loans for such purposes as sinking of wells, installation of pump sets, etc., landholders may well insist on their consent being obtained.

But if we can at least make a beginning with rigorous and effective

enforcement of the existing laws, we would have demonstrated our earnestness and reduced some of the tensions in the countryside.

A review of agricultural wages is also called for in the light of increased yields now obtaining. Minimum wages for agricultural labour may have to be prescribed for each tract and enforced. This will enable landless labourers to participate in the fruits of green revolution.

These are just some stray thoughts rather hurriedly dictated.

Note on Economic Policy and Programme circulated among delegates of AICC at Bangalore, July 9, 1969.

The Choice before the Congress

Had I known that this note was going to be put before the AICC, I would have sent an entirely different type of note which would have been far more comprehensive. In the present note, many things which I consider equally important have been left out. Some of them were touched upon in the printed note produced by Shri Sadiq Ali and Shri Subramaniam.

I do not say there is anything new in this paper. Many members have pointed this out, and rightly so. These are matters with which we have been concerned for a long time. We have often discussed them, perhaps not always in such detail, perhaps not always in this manner, but these subjects have been before us. So what is the need to bring them up once more? The need is this. Let each of us look into our own hearts, let each of us look at our own city or our own State. We all know what efforts the Congress has been making and what things have been achieved. But what is the impression in the mind of the public? Are we concerned with it as a political body or is it something which we can afford to ignore? This is the question before us. We have talked very glibly about socialism for a long time. But, whatever our beliefs, and I certainly do not want to question anybody's *bona fides* or sincerity, does the public think that we are a socialist body? Does the public think that we are going in the socialist direction? This is the question.

The Congress is indeed a unique organization. What has made it unique? Not merely its programme, not merely its leadership, although we have had the good fortune and the privilege of having some of the greatest men of the world as our leaders. But what marked out the Congress was that from the beginning it identified itself with the real, basic problems of our people. We have not moved away from that aim. It is still our aim. The President rightly said that we are all concerned about the downtrodden. Yet, when we look at where we have come to — and I do not in any way want to denigrate or to diminish our achievements, because I do believe that all sections have benefited and that freedom has made a difference even to the person who is living in the remotest area — with all this, we find that disparities have increased. To some extent it was inevitable but I think to some extent it was preventable.

The Congress may believe in socialism. But do we not have people amongst us who have decried socialism publicly and privately? The Congress has stood in the international field for nonalignment. But do we not have people amongst us who have decried nonalignment publicly and privately? The Congress has stood for the eradication of untouchability, but even in this sphere can we say that every one of our members is behind this programme? I am giving you a few examples. It is not that we do not have a good programme before us. It may not also be that the Congress as a party does not support these projects. But what have we done to make these programmes real — not just to the public, but real to our own members?

If they decry our policies, it is obviously because they have not understood them or because they do not stand for that for which India has stood and the Congress stood throughout its history.

Ours is an ancient country with a very rich heritage. Many of our ideals are old ideals. Gandhiji did not say anything new when he said that Truth is God. And yet how many of his speeches Gandhiji devoted just to this one subject, stressing the necessity of truth, of co-operation, of working together, of equality between sections of the people? None of these things were new for our country or for any country. Yet they were repeated day after day by Gandhiji in his prayer meeting because there was need for such repetition.

Today there is great need for the AICC to reiterate our basic ideas and our basic policies. Where do we want to go? We want to eradicate poverty. The capitalist system says it wants to eradicate poverty, and the Communist system also says that it too wants to eradicate poverty. But we have not adopted any of these systems because we find that they have not worked in their own country, and they have had to pay a tremendous price. That is why we chose another way.

I was very sad yesterday that one of our members here cast some aspersions that some of the leaders, perhaps meaning me, wanted to encourage the Communists. Now, nobody who is interested in the freedom of his country — freedom in the sense in which we understand it, that is, not merely political freedom, but freedom of expression and so many other freedoms — can ever be Communist. Our fight with the Communists is not just that it is a Communist party or that the word Communist is there. I am not allergic to that word. But I am allergic to some of their ideas and to some of their methods. And I am allergic to anybody who uses that method. In India it is not only the Communists who are using it.

In all these long speeches, we did not hear a word of condemnation for the communal riots which are taking place. Did anybody draw attention to the fact that we, after all these years, with all our great desire for secularism, which is one of the pillars of our domestic policy, have not been able to control the situation, that little by little we are losing the trust of the minority? Why is it so? It is because we talk about those things and we think that our task is finished after talking about them.

In nearly every AICC meeting, I have taken up the question of a cadre because it is not enough to say this is our policy. We must have people who dedicate their entire time to spreading our ideas and to converting people. No political party exists merely by itself. It has to grow or it atrophies little by little. I do not say for a minute that Congress is atrophying. I think it is dynamic. It has strength. But I do think that it is not growing at the pace which our nation requires, even at the pace at which the growing population of India requires.

Do we have the trust of the young people? Do we have the trust of the intellectuals? Do we have the entire trust of any section? If we go to one group they think we are with the other group. If we go to the other group they think that we are with a third group. Why have these doubts arisen? To some extent, it is true, because we criticize ourselves. We say many things ourselves and these are exaggerated and exploited. This should not be ignored. But the fact remains that as of today we do not make that kind of impact on the public which makes them say: "This is a socialistic party. This is a party which with all its strength is going out to achieve certain ends."

I feel that we shall not exist long if we do not convert ourselves into such a party. What gave strength to us was that whenever we drifted a little from the main path, Gandhiji brought us back and said: "Well, all that is good, but the real thing is this." Now we tend to drift from the real thing. We have to work together and we have worked together. We have to compromise and many times we have compromised. But should the compromise be on any basic principle? The basic principles and policies are commitment and deep involvement with socialist policy, and commitment and deep involvement with the policy of secularism.

We fought for freedom and the momentum and the energy that were generated in that struggle took us to freedom, and freedom spread all over the country. In some way, even though the freedom struggle had been going on for long, we took those who dominated us somewhat by surprise. But after all these years, these nations have recovered from their surprise and we see the same old struggle going on in the world for influencing other nations. It is much cheaper to influence a nation from outside than to have your Government there. You get all the benefit without any of the trouble. This is the world situation today. I have not been very happy with the words Left and Right because I think in themselves they have no meaning. Left of what? Right of what? Just like people have been calling that portion of the world where the Arab countries are as the Middle East. Middle from where? If we look at it from India, certainly it is not the Middle East. It is far to our West. And that is why we started calling it West Asia, because no matter from which side you look at the map that area is always West Asia.

But people, when they use such terms as Left and Right, which cannot be well defined, naturally give them their own meaning. Many of us tend to look at our problems not from the eyes of the Indians but from the eyes of whichever people we admire or who are able to influence us for the moment. We see Indian progress measured by the yardstick of some of the advanced countries. We see Indian progress measured by the yardstick of very small countries which have been recipients of tremendous aid from outside. But Indian problems have to be viewed in

the context of the Indian situation. That is why, keeping that in view, we chose the path of democracy, secularism and socialism in the domestic sphere, and what we called nonalignment in the international sphere.

And no matter what way we look at the situation, that situation has not changed, neither in India nor in the world. One Member came to me just before the AICC and said that now that there is a little more prosperity in India, people would not want socialism because as they got more they tended to become more conservative. It is true that once a person has something, he is anxious to keep it and he is not anxious for big changes. But in India the vast majority of people do not have anything that they can keep at the moment. We talk of freedom but there still are people whose freedom is extremely limited, because when you do not get enough of your basic necessities you cannot be fully free to think or to express yourselves or to do what you like. This was the basic problem before us and we consciously took the middle way.

We had a private sector and we started a public sector. I think all of you will agree that the private sector has benefited since Independence. There has been expansion of their industries, expansion of their trade, expansion of their business. How much richer they have grown! And yet not for one day have they appreciated the policy of the Government. There is a constant struggle that the private sector must be much bigger. There is constant criticism that the public sector is not working well. Even on this platform I heard some people say yesterday what tremendous losses are being made by the public sector. Now I do not have all the figures here, and I do not want to go into them, but I think all of you ought to go into the question. The members of the AICC should certainly take this matter seriously. There are losses, we don't want to deny them, but there are profits also. Not all the public sector is incurring a loss. Not all the private sector is working without any blemish. In fact, more and more demands are coming that perhaps the whole matter should be looked into. And perhaps it will be looked into.

So the struggle is not of words, it is something very much deeper. It is not a struggle that has begun today. It is a struggle which has been there from the very first day that we took the word socialism for our policy. It went on all the time while my father was there. We did pass resolutions for the reason perhaps that the public would like them, because perhaps the majority of the members would like them, but we did not act upon the resolutions, because those who did not wish to act upon them were able to pull their strength.

In a democratic organization, any group should certainly be able to pull its weight. If anybody feels this policy is not the right policy, he has the full right to change that policy, to modify it, to adapt it or to do what he likes. But, as I said, there is one factor which has to be considered, and that is the needs of the Indian people, and the feelings

of the Indian people. When we talk of the people, each of us talks of that section which he or she knows best. If somebody is in business, when he says "people" he means business people. If somebody happens to be a legal person, when he says "people" he thinks of the law people. It is right, because you know those people best. But the vast mass of the people do not belong to any of these groups. They belong to sections who, in spite of all the political consciousness, in spite of all our efforts, in spite of mass adult franchise in elections, still have no voice. We saw in the last election how in some places people were not allowed to vote as they wanted to vote. So this is a struggle between the strong and the weak.

This is nothing new. Tagore wrote about it long before Independence. Many others have written about it. But Tagore also wrote that the strong should never underestimate the strength of the weak, because in any country the weakness of any section pulls down the whole country. In an article which he wrote, he has likened the strong to an elephant and the weak to quicksand. When the elephant gets caught in quicksand, with all its strength it cannot be saved.

What are the conditions in the country today? Are they not somewhat like quicksand? However strong the Congress organization is in itself, how long can it withstand this quicksand? There are other parties. There are parties which are not behaving perhaps in the democratic way. Some of our people have suggested that they should be banned. There has been a slogan for banning of the Jana Sangh. Earlier there has been a slogan for the banning of the Communist party. But if the problem which they have created remains, then merely banning a party is not going to solve it for you. You have to tackle that problem and that problem can be tackled only organizationally.

This is why, again and again, we come back to the question of how solid is our organization. When we have talked of bogus membership we are told that it is impossible to remove it. Now if any organization has a large element of bogus membership, is that strength? Is it worth while having a long list of names when we do not know whose those names are? Is it not better to have names from which we can know that he or she is doing such and such a work, and that he or she can influence that area or can do something? We have been a party based on constructive work in the wider perspective on social and economic change. But what do we see now? We see that we are mostly concerned with elections. In between it is true that when there is a natural calamity the Congress comes forward. I must congratulate our Members on the way they respond magnificently on such occasions. Ours is the only party which really goes out and takes up such challenges — whether it is floods or earthquake or drought or anything like that. Otherwise they think that there is nothing to be done.

I had the privilege of belonging to the Congress even when I was not a member. I regarded myself as a member of the Congress from the day when I hardly walked. So it is certainly not my intention ever to do anything that would weaken this great organization. But with all my love and my pride in the Congress organization, I must say that there is something which is bigger than the Congress and that is our country and that is our people. And the day we forget that and we talk only about our party, that day will see the weakening of the party. This is what we should remember when we gather at the AICC. It is not a fight for personalities. We may feel that a certain thing should have been said or unsaid or said in one way or another way. These are not the relevant points. The only relevant point is, whether we really feel that we are in touch with the people and are willing to deal with their problems. We can honestly say this only to ourselves, not even to our next-door neighbour.

Some agitation takes place. And if we find that we can get something out of it, we are not concerned whether that agitation is in the long run bad for the country or good, we jump into it whole-heartedly. If a demand is made, we do not stop to consider whether the demand should really be fulfilled, what the difficulties are, whether we should go to the people and tell them that we cannot do this. No, we say that this is a popular demand, therefore we must have it. We hasten to be in the forefront of that demand. So we are all the time creating conditions in which it becomes more difficult for us to work. Gandhiji constantly talked about service and sacrifice. But this is what it adds up to, the courage to face up to a situation and not see whether this is going to get us something or not, but ask: Is it the right thing to do? My experience has been that in whatever part of India, whenever we have faced up to a problem we have not only had the strength to face up to it, but we have also had success.

There is talk of unity. Certainly there should be unity. I have on every occasion talked of unity and worked for unity. But, again, unity for what? Is that unity going to strengthen the organization, is it going to take us ahead? Or is it a unity in which we say, merely for the sake of being together: "Let us forget our ideals. It does not matter if we are going in the right direction or not." These are some of the problems which have to be faced. We face them today, or face them tomorrow, or face them after some time.

There is constant talk about the lack of money. I know that there are many programmes and projects which have to be taken up but which we cannot just now take up for lack of money. But we can make a beginning, not only as Government, but as a party, as a people. Everywhere, in villages and so on, there still is a great response if you take up something earnestly. But we as a party take the same stand as the public takes and say: "This is Government's business. The Government cannot shrug off its responsibility." But everywhere in the world,

the party's business is to support the Government. And by support I do not mean just voting. Support means to do what you can do in promoting programmes, in promoting ideology, and in fighting against all that stands opposed to the programmes and the ideology.

As a nation and a people we have been committed to very high ideals. It is not possible for us to live up to those ideals all the time. But we must keep them before us all the time. I spoke earlier about some of the difficulties which the countries which have become independent now face. Because we are going ahead, we tend to forget the many dangers which threaten us inside and outside the country. But those dangers are very real and are growing. We have to recognize them and we have to face up to them. The Congress has always stood for real independence in foreign policy. We chose the word nonalignment to describe it, but the word does not, I am afraid, give the full meaning of our policy. That meaning is that to have a free and independent foreign policy, we have to be independent of any bloc, of any other countries outside. I think it is important to mention it here, because it is important for the AICC to decide whether it wants to go along that road or whether it thinks that we cannot go along that road and we should align ourselves with one or the other bloc. It is strange that some of our policies have been denigrated at a time when other nations are applauding them, when other nations are coming round to our point of view, those who thought that the policies were against them. We try to give things a personal twist. We try to put labels on people. I am against all this. No person can be a container of pickles or something that can be put in a bottle and labelled: "So and so is so and so." We are vital, changing, human beings.

Why have other parties made progress? Have we made any effort to see that the process is halted? Have we done ground-work? Are we looking into the problems which these parties have raised? Obviously they were somehow able to get a foothold among the people.

This was one of my objects when I say that the major problems before us are: one, land reform, and two, the question of unemployment. These are two questions which we have to look at very seriously. We cannot solve them overnight or even in a year. But if we give the people the impression that we are serious about solving them, then we also have our foothold. Otherwise little by little we shall lose our place with the people and we shall be a party that is linked with some group, not with the masses at large. Again and again I am calling attention to this, because it is something which we speak about but which is no longer in our hearts. We look at it from the intellectual point of view, but that is not enough. We have to be involved in it with our hearts. We have to do this regardless of whether we win or lose. We have to work for what we consider right regardless of the fact of what it does to us. Only then

shall we have the strength to work for it. If we work for it only from the point of view of getting something immediately then we shall not get it and we also lose what we think we are going to get. I think this has happened in many places to Congress Governments.

We have not dared to criticize certain wrong things, for instance, communal riots. We have not stood up to the challenge of the Jana Sangh. Some people have said: "Why don't we combine with other democratic parties?" They think that the Jana Sangh is a democratic party. Is it their idea of democracy that some people in the country should be of lesser status than others? Which is the democratic party with whom we could combine? Although we claim we do not want opportunistic alliances, we talk in a way which does not sound convincing. And I have no doubt that this talk has weakened the Congress as a whole. If we go along our path and stick to our basic policies, I say that we might be defeated once or twice or in this or that part of India, but I have no doubt that in the long run we shall succeed and come out on top. And even if we do not come out on top, if by our right doing we have advanced the country one step in that direction, I say that is a far bigger success than winning any election or being in power. But I must confess that this kind of spirit has gone from our organization. I am not blaming any person, because I am equally involved and all of us who are members of the Congress are involved. We think always in terms of groups. We think we are in a group. We think other people are also in a group, and an atmosphere of suspicion, of mistrust, and a lot of infighting is created. We know that this infighting has lost us elections in many places. But basically why do all these things happen? Because of going away from the basic path.

If you are seriously involved in something, you will not allow your effort to be weakened. This is what happened when we were involved in the freedom struggle. Even then there was some infighting. Not everybody was together. There was the same kind of group rivalry, political rivalry, personal rivalry. All these things existed, but because of the deep and sincere involvement in the freedom struggle, those things always got abated. And that is how we could win freedom. If today we can keep our involvement with the people of India, and refuse to dilute our basic policies even by a little, then I think success is assured.

There was much talk here on the nationalization of banks. That was the main bone of contention. As I have said earlier, mere nationalization will make no difference. And with all due respect I would say that I do not think that even removing industrialists and having bankers makes any difference. It does not matter if the person is an industrialist, a banker or a peasant or a businessman. What matters is what his ideology is. Does he believe in what we want to do? That is the question. What his profession is, is immaterial. What his wealth is, is quite immaterial.

The people whom we are putting in charge of various things, are they committed to our programmes? I must say that by and large they are not. Why are the public sector projects not flourishing as they should? Because the people in charge of them are not people who are committed to the public sector. By nationalization I am certainly not for some kind of bureaucratic regime or State capitalism or that kind of thing. We must have people who have the right ideas, who are not in it for the sake of a job, who are not in it just to do something, but who are deeply committed to the basic objective. Whether it is a bank, whether it is industry, whether it is an agricultural programme, the end is not that programme but something else. The end is what that programme ultimately will do for the people.

For instance, there is a farmers' lobby in our party. It is good for the farmers to have a lobby. They are a very important section of the population. But the farmers' lobby ignores the vast numbers of the landless, the vast number of those smaller farmers who have no lobby, who have no voice, who have no organization. Can we afford to be separated from those people?

It was rightly said that we cannot today measure a country's progress by the gross national product. A high rate of growth is not sufficient for a country like India. Even if it is increased, there are large sections who are untouched by that growth. That growth by itself sows the seeds of tension, of agitation and of ill-will. So this is the basic question before the AICC — not just what programme we are taking up but in what spirit we are doing it; and how much we are prepared to sacrifice for the sake of that right spirit, for the sake of the right method. It cannot be done without sacrifice. Every step forward touches some interest. It may touch the farmers' interest. It may touch the industrialists' interest. And that lobby is immediately active against us. We have seen it in our press, we have seen it in a hundred and one ways, how pressures are brought to bear upon us. It is easy to give in to the pressure. But then you have the greater danger of alienating yourself from the mass of the people.

The question is how strong we want the Congress to be, how strong we want India to be. Today no other country is interested in India being strong. They would all want to help us to some extent, that is all. Beyond that they would not like a country with a large population like India, a large land mass like India, to be really and effectively strong. That burden is only on us. And therefore we have in all these problems to mark out a road, which may not perhaps be approved by everybody but which we know in our hearts is the right road for our people. I hope that the Congress party will always keep to this road and to this manner of progress, and not be enticed by the glitter of any other path that other countries are taking. When you look at some of the modernization which is taking place in many countries, you ask yourselves: wealth is increasing, but

what wealth? Of acquisition and of glitter rather than of substance. Is that the path which India wants to take? No. That would be a disaster.

These are some of the matters which we have to consider in great seriousness. Sometimes we take up a slogan — now it is bank nationalization. It may be a good thing; it may not be. But it has become a slogan; somehow it is identified with the essence of radicalism. That to my mind is going away from the main point. You may believe in it; you may do it. I am not saying do not do it. But it is not right to cling to anything as a slogan and to say that that is the only thing. At all times these slogans must be put in the perspective of the larger good of the country.

I spoke earlier of the struggles in the world, the efforts to work out spheres of influence and so on. India has been playing a very important, though purposely inconspicuous role, in many areas. We believe that the stand we have taken, although it has brought us criticism quite often, has ultimately convinced people that we stand firm on our idea. That is why India's voice is heeded in the world's councils even today. Some people feel it would have been simpler if we had said: "All this is not our business . and why should we interfere?" But we said it was our interest, because our leaders from the beginning said: "Freedom is indivisible, progress is indivisible." If there is lack of freedom anywhere it adversely influences the rest of the world. As freedom grows, other countries which are not free also get the strength and the courage.

The situation is exactly the same within the country. Do we have the strength to strike out on our own? I believe Congress has the dynamism, it has the programme, it has the policy, it has the achievement which can give it the strength in the eyes of the people. But we do still lack the capacity to project this image. Why should there be doubt about these things? Can we in the AICC see that we remove these doubts from the minds of the public? This is something which all of us must resolve if we want the Congress to be what it was in the past, that is, a party with a mass base which is committed to the people of India, and a party which does not mind even if it is not there for power, which is not there for success, but which is there for an ideal, the ideal of giving economic and social content to our freedom, the ideal of raising all those sections of the people who have been underprivileged, who have been oppressed, and who are even today suffering from injustice. This is what we must resolve.

Therefore let us work together for a strong and united party, and for a unity which is based on policy — on real belief in the ideals which our leaders have put before us. Then we can convince everybody of our own sincerity and also of our capacity to put them into action. We have come to one of the most beautiful parts of India, a State which has made good progress, and where progress is visible. But it needs to be shown that the progress is not only to the outward view but also in the thinking

of the people. The people should realize that this direction is the right direction, although the pace may not always be what they expect. They should be convinced that we always keep the people's interest in the forefront and the party's interest second and the interests of groups, personalities and so on after that. This should be the message of the Bangalore Congress. And I am sure that if we can go back with this message and see that we work it out then the Congress will indeed have a brighter future.

Thank you.

Address to the AICC session, Bangalore, July 12, 1969.

Revitalizing the Party

1 Safdarjang Road,
New Delhi,
August 17, 1969.

Dear Colleague,

The Congress party has been going through a period of anguish during the last few weeks. Senior colleagues in the party had taken differing stands in regard to the Presidential election, leading to a good deal of confusion amongst our members. It has been said that this is a struggle for power and a clash of personalities. But to my mind the differences that have arisen in the party have much deeper significance and are based on the approaches to the problems and programmes facing the country today. These differences have existed in our organization for quite some time and in a sense this climaxed in the differences over the Presidential election.

I feel that the issues involved go beyond the Presidential poll. The result of the election, one way or the other, will not resolve the difference over the manner in which our basic policies of democracy, secularism, socialism and nonalignment are implemented.

I believe that there is a broad consensus in the party in regard to the future course of our economic policy. The resolution adopted at the Bangalore session of the AICC was only a reflection of the general feeling of the large section of the members in our organization. What is now called for is for us to go through a process of heart-searching and a conscientious reappraisal of the functioning of the party and to formulate methods for the implementation of our basic policies. I am convinced that it is not merely a matter for governmental action and legislative measures, but the party organization at various levels should also get committed and involved in the implementation of these policies. Mere legislative enactments and administrative fiat cannot bring about social change, and what we are seeking to achieve is social change through the implementation of our basic policies through democratic processes. Unfortunately, in the course of the years, our organization has been losing that dynamism and crusading spirit necessary to bring about a change in the attitudes and the thinking of our people. I have a feeling that as a party we are losing contact with the vast masses of our people and especially with the youth. We do not seem to share their joys and sorrows. The real problem facing us today is how to recapture the missionary zeal which animated the organization during the days of our freedom struggle.

We took a very important step after the Bangalore session in nationalizing the 14 major banks. This has kindled a sense of hope and confidence in the minds of the common man that there is now a serious intention to tackle the problems of unemployment and of the poverty affecting millions of our countrymen. But how far have we succeeded at the party level in taking advantage of this new situation to mobilize the support of the people in order to create momentum for follow-up action and for the implementation of our socialist policies? The nationalization of banks was very much a part of our own programme. However, with a few exceptions, our party has left this

historic step unnoticed, whereas the opposition parties have been claiming credit for this measure and organizing meetings and processions.

This has given the opportunity for some people to cloud the issues by raising the old bogey of communism and communist influence. Other countries have had similar experiences. Any liberal, social or economic reform produces a reaction in the vested interests and conservative elements. I want to assure my party colleagues that this has no basis whatsoever. As a party, we are committed to democracy and the democratic way of life. We stand firmly by this basic approach.

I appeal to every Congressman to ponder over this state of affairs. How are we going to rejuvenate and galvanize the party as a potent instrument for mobilizing public opinion and seeking its support, and at the same time create conditions in the country for speedy evolution of social change? Unless this is done, the forces of vested interests and reactionary elements in the country will take hold of the situation and obstruct our progress. The differing stands which leading Congressmen have been taking with respect to the accepted policies of our party have brought about confusion and consequent inactivity in the organization at various levels. This situation can be improved only by a team of leaders and workers — at Government as well as party level — who are entirely devoted and committed, who believe heart and soul in our basic policies and who will give sustained and dedicated co-operation for speedy action to translate our promises into reality. The Congress can be revitalized only by such dedicated and united leadership with a common outlook and only a revitalized Congress can ensure the successful implementation of our social and economic policies. Experience has taught us that lack of unified thinking and outlook in the leading councils of the party and the Government paralyses both, making them incapable of forward action.

I seek your whole-hearted co-operation in bringing about such a revitalization of the party. Whoever be the individuals, if the Congress is to regain its position among the people, it must create a leadership which thinks, speaks and acts with unity of purpose.

The events of the last few weeks have created an atmosphere of mutual distrust and recrimination. We should make a determined effort to end this. The unity we forge has to be based on policies and programmes — and such unity should be on the basis of a commitment to the people of India. A new door has opened and a new deal is in the offing to the toiling millions of our country. I have profound faith in the vitality of our organization and in its infinite capacity to adapt itself to meet the demands of new situations. Let us then march forward, shoulder to shoulder, towards the new goals that we have set ourselves in the service of our Nation and our people.

With good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Indira Gandhi

Letter to party colleagues.

Reasons for Split

1 Safdarjang Road,
New Delhi,
November 8, 1969.

Dear Colleague,

1. There is a crisis in the Congress and in the nation.
2. It is not a crisis which has come about all of a sudden. It has been building over a long time.
3. What we witness today is not a mere clash of personalities, and certainly not a fight for power. It is not as simple as a conflict between the parliamentary and organizational wings.
4. It is a conflict between two outlooks and attitudes in regard to the objectives of the Congress and the methods in which the Congress itself should function.
5. It is a conflict between those who are for socialism, for change and for the fullest internal democracy and debate in the organization, on the one hand, and those who are for the status quo, for conformism and for less than full discussion inside the Congress, on the other.
6. Even if some people are in the second group, this basic analysis is not affected. An individual here or there, not sharing the outlook of the group, does not alter the basic facts of the situation.
7. The Congress stands for democracy, secularism, socialism and nonalignment in international relations.
8. The various policy-making units of our organization, whether the Working Committee, or the AICC, or the delegates' session, have reaffirmed these objectives from time to time. But within the Congress there has been a group which did not have total faith in these objectives. People of this group paid only lip service to these ideals because they knew that if they openly expressed their reservations they would lose the power and influence they had derived from the party.
9. This group is not a new phenomenon. It has existed in our party throughout the last twenty-two years and even before. I know that this group constantly tried to check and frustrate my father's attempt to bring about far-reaching economic and social changes. The Congress was moulded by Mahatma Gandhi and my father to be the prime instrument of social change. The acceptance of office and of responsibilities of Government was, after all, to bring about this nonviolent revolution in our society. If this cannot be done, what is the use of Congress or what is the purpose of being in Government?
10. In his last years, my father was greatly concerned that the Congress was moving away from the people and that there were people inside the Congress who were offering resistance to change. My own experience even before the fourth general election was that the forces of status quo, with close links with powerful economic interests, were ranged against me.
11. While the biggest leaders of the Congress were involved in the tasks of Government and administration in the years after freedom, some persons developed a vested interest in power. They began to regard

themselves as the Congress, forgetting that they could keep their mandate only through service and only if the Congress had a powerful mass base. To consolidate their hold and in the name of discipline they pushed out of the Congress many honest and devoted workers, whose loyalty to the organization and its ideals was beyond question. Their arrogant use of authority made some people resign from the Congress or retire from active work. It also discouraged fresh streams of young workers from flowing into the Congress. The worker in the field was denied his right to mould the party and the party registers were packed with bogus names. Recently the tendency to acquire factional control of the organization has become more intense. This is linked with the desire to control the direction of Government policy and economic life in line with the narrow purposes and interests of a limited section.

12. This is the background to the present crisis. As I recently told the Bombay Pradesh Congress workers, some of those who are now worried about a split remained complacent when the strength of the Congress was being wilfully sacrificed in State after State and in election after election.

13. The time has come to bring all this into the open, so that there might be full and free discussion of the problems of the Congress. I do not want a split in our great national organization, which brought freedom to our country and which has to fulfil its promise by building a new society. But I want unity which is a unity on principles and on methods of work. To speak of socialism and secularism, to vote for them in meetings, but to have public image of association with those who are opposed to secularism and socialism is not service to the Congress.

14. The full details of the present crisis are well known to all of you. For your convenience copies of the letters which were exchanged between Shri Nijalingappa and me (and between him and Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmad and Shri C. Subramaniam) are attached.

15. The correspondence fully brings out the background of the requisition which the majority of the AICC members presented to the Congress Working Committee and which was so summarily, unconstitutionally and unwisely turned down.

16. As you know, certain Chief Ministers strove to bring about a compromise, but even while they were continuing their efforts, Shri Nijalingappa asked me to explain my "conduct". Even after this notice was served, I met Shri Nijalingappa and discussed with him certain proposals on which Shri K.C. Abraham and Shri Veerendra Patil had worked.

17. Since Shri Nijalingappa, for whose personal qualities I have high regard, had felt that the requisition was a vote of censure on him, inasmuch as it was confined to the Congress President's election and left

out other elections, I suggested that we might have a new election to all elected offices above the PCC level as an interim measure, pending the revision of rolls and new elections at all levels on the basis of rolls which were cleansed of bogus membership.

18. Shri Nijalingappa on the contrary spoke of taking up the whole process of election on the basis of the existing rolls — which is obviously no answer to the crisis since it would retard the remedial action that can still be taken to set things right in the organization.

19. Even as regards this proposal, unsatisfactory as it was, Shri Nijalingappa made no firm commitment. He only said that any written proposal which was made to him would be placed before the Working Committee. He did not vouchsafe any information on whether the meeting would be that of the truncated body or of the full body. I did not discuss the “show cause” notice with him and he did not offer to rescind it. From other reliable sources it was learnt that he had every intention of taking action against me and others.

20. To go back from these details to the main question of the crisis before the country. Outside the narrow confines of our party, great and turbulent changes are taking place in the minds and hearts of our people. There are new trends of thought. There are new aspirations. And there are new tensions apart from some other older tensions. Political consciousness has matured and deepened among the masses and in this process, many ideas, some old and some new, are being canvassed, and a kind of crystallization has been steadily taking place.

21. Faced with this change in the national political environment, our party has been in danger of losing its orientation; it has been trying to cope with the situation by a ritualistic repetition of the formal positions of the past without making a fresh assessment of the needs of the present and the future in accordance with its own living revolutionary tradition.

22. There is a loss of confidence in ourselves and in the destiny both of our country and of our party. There is a tendency to be influenced by the forces of reaction, revivalism and vested interests.

23. In this situation, it is necessary for the Congress to recognize frankly that it no longer commands in full the loyalty and emotions of the nation as it did in the past. It must also recognize that it cannot discharge the role of leadership unless it redefines its position sharply in relation to the competing points of view in the country; and it can serve as an effective instrument of the national purpose only if it revitalizes its membership and its methods of functioning.

24. The Congress must open its closed doors to winds of change, re-establish its living links with the people in every town and village of India. It must make a fresh effort to forge fresh links with the new generation which has grown since our Independence. It must reflect the

modern elements in our society. It must draw unto itself the live elements of modern science and technology. It must command the loyalty of our intelligentsia. It must seek to induce amongst the ordinary people a feeling of confidence that we are a party which seeks to serve the people.

25. In the nature of things, a national debate on the issues at stake and the competing points of view cannot be carried on without some pain and emotional disturbance. But the need for the debate is inescapable. No one can stifle it. Indeed, effective political leadership lies in promoting an orderly, sober, civilized discussion of the issues we have to resolve. We cannot treat a fresh debate as the sign of a revolt against any individual or group. The subversion of free debate constitutes a danger to democracy not only within our party, but in the country.

26. The basic issue in the conflict must be separated from other issues which, though important, are secondary. That basic issue is whether the democratic process shall prevail or not in the Congress.

27. There are the legal and constitutional aspects of the conflict. These have been discussed fully in the correspondence that has passed between me and Shri Nijalingappa. The legal and constitutional issues are important. But behind them is the far more important issue: whether Congressmen who have built the Congress at great sacrifice are to run it and mould it as they like or whether bosses should run it as they like. There has been always a conflict between bossism and democracy, and it is this conflict which has reached a critical stage.

28. The aim of the Congress still is to bring about far-reaching social and economic changes amounting to a social revolution. But it has ceased to be a fit instrument of its own aims and is losing its sense of purpose. It has been losing its articulation, its sense of direction, and its old confidence. The average Congressman has been denied his voice in it, and the committees at various levels are hardly functioning.

29. The present conflict, or debate, or whatever else it is called, concerns what the Congress can still do for the people. It is wedded to democratic socialism. Both democracy and socialism are necessary. Without the one, the other cannot exist. Democracy is inevitable in the conditions of this country; so is socialism. The democratic process and the socialist process can go together. Indian experience has proved it, and we must take the two processes together. The Congress, as the most broadbased organization, can do it best. That is why it has always to keep its goal of socialism in view and maintain the democratic process within itself.

30. There is no place for a sectarian approach. Socialism in this country can come about only as the result of an open, broad movement. It cannot come overnight. Both the Government and the people must work for it. The people must be mobilized in support of socialist measures undertaken by the Government. Legislation alone is not enough.

31. The organization is important to mobilize the people for socialism. It is not enough for it to come to life only for elections. It must be constantly at work to educate the people regarding our policies and actions. Social power has to be organized in support of political power. This social power is necessary even to win elections. The organization cannot afford to become weak in any part. It must be ever vigilant and active. Even with its recent amendments, the Constitution is still inadequate for the requirements of the fast changing situation. The desire to immediately change the set-up, even to a limited extent, arises because of the necessity to consider in depth in what manner further radical transformation of the organization can be brought about. The membership must be real, not artificial. The commitment must be sincere. There must be a sense of urgency.

32. The Government is a part of the organization. If the organization is live, the Government will be aware of its responsibility. The state of the organization is reflected in the legislative parties and the Government. There is no conflict between the two wings. The relations between them have often been discussed and are well understood.

33. The importance of the organization cannot be minimized. To make it real and alive and to make it work democratically, and dynamically, is the aim of the meeting of the members of the AICC that will be held in Delhi. It can release vast energies, and these energies can take the Congress and the people forward.

34. This is the issue before us; other matters are secondary.
With good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Indira Gandhi

Letter to Congressmen.

New Act of Dedication

This is a regular meeting of our Congress party in Parliament. But, as you know, we are all meeting in rather extraordinary circumstances. Our friends and colleagues have yesterday issued a statement saying that it is the gravest crisis in the long history of the Congress. And this is true. But I should like to say that the Congress has passed through many crises and we should look at each crisis from the point of view of how it can lead to a better functioning of the Party, to greater strength for the Party.

I do not want to make a long speech. Very recently I have addressed a letter to my colleagues in Parliament. Some of you had not received it until yesterday, but I hope that it has now been received, or at least will be received in the course of the day. I have put some of my views in that letter. Naturally one cannot say everything, because of the desire not to inflict a lengthy communication on you all. I do not want to repeat those points here, nor would I like to say anything at all about any action that has been sought to be taken against me. My colleagues have expressed themselves and many other people all over the country have expressed their views and, perhaps, will do so further.

Strange as it may seem, I must confess to you that I personally have at no moment been at all troubled, nor am I at all troubled now as to what happens to me. What happens to any particular person is not a matter of great consequence either to the Party or to the country. But what happens to the Congress party, what happens to India, is something to which I cannot remain indifferent, without betraying the cause for which my grandfather, my mother, my father laid down their lives and for which I myself have very humbly tried to work all my life from early childhood. I do not wish to be sentimental at this moment. But I think one cannot ignore the past when one is thinking of the present or the future. The place which my family has occupied in the history of the country — and I have taken three names here but all of you know that if I count names, at least 44 come to mind and there may be many others because practically everybody who is related on both sides (my mother's family and my father's family), and my husband, of course, were very much involved in what the Congress did, in what the Congress stood for. Our very home had become (although not officially) the symbol of the Congress. Not only our old house but even the new one was the unofficial centre for many great decisions and many of the policies which today we support.

For any group of people to say that I am betraying the Congress, or that I want to do something that is against the interests of the great organization, is hardly fair, especially when some of the people involved, not perhaps amongst big leaders but certainly many younger leaders, are those who had nothing to do with the Congress until 1942. They came in when there was no question of sacrifice or suffering but merely of what could be got out of the party.

I do not wish to dramatize this event either, but basically I feel it is a struggle about policy. We do stand for socialistic policies, for particular programmes, I feel the conflict is far deeper than that. What has happened in the recent weeks — perhaps months — is, as I have repeatedly tried to point out, not anything that has suddenly come about. We have seen the situation building up step by step over the last few years. There has been a tendency in the Congress to stifle democracy, to stifle discussion. Those people who accuse me of being a dictator, or going towards communists or some others, are the people who have not welcomed discussion. Why do we ask for discussion? Because we feel it is the inherent right of the party — whether it is the party in Parliament, whether it is the members of the AICC, whether it is members of the DCCs or the vast masses of primary members of the Congress, they have always to be taken into confidence, have to be given opportunity to express their views. And that is the only way that true democracy can function. Nobody who would like to have discussion and debate on these issues can ever be dictator. It is those who do not wish discussion who can be called dictators. And this is the point which the Congress has been making, and I have been making on behalf of Government, that we want to involve the whole country in whatever we do. It is only if the people themselves are strong that democracy can ultimately be protected. It can never be protected by a few people, however much they believe in democracy, however much they want it. It can be protected if the large masses of people are committed, if they feel involved in the issues and they are determined to protect their democratic rights.

Now, as I said, this is not a question of personal considerations or personalities. It is a question of forging the Congress into an effective instrument for serving the great causes to which it is committed. It is a question of rallying together in defence of our party. I should like to assure the hon'ble members here that to this task I rededicate myself. However long the road and however difficult the task, Congress must rejuvenate itself by a new act of dedication. Let the party, let the people of this great land of ours, rally to the cause of democracy and of socialism.

At the conclusion of the meeting Indira Gandhi said:

If it is the sense of the House that we close this meeting, I want to say a few words. I want to say that we have taken signatures of 330 members. I have to say that several members were unable to arrive in time for the meeting. Some are arriving in the evening, some on the 14th. They are scattered over different parts of the country and across oceans and continents. I shall ask Shri Chavanji to put the Resolution to vote. After the resolution, I want to say one word.

T. B. Chavan: I have read the resolution. You want it to be read

again. The resolution* is put to your vote. Those in favour will say "Aye". It is carried unanimously.

Indira Gandhi: Is there anybody against the resolution? Anybody wants to oppose the resolution? So we take it that it is unanimously passed. (Shri Bakar Ali Mirza wishes to abstain on the resolution.)

I want to take two minutes more of your time. There are some people sitting with us who have not become members of the Congress party. I wanted to say there are some members who have applied for membership of the party some time ago, some months ago. We had considered their case in the Executive and approved of their entering, and passed it on to the AICC. We did not get a reply from the AICC. Two of them are present here. I am just mentioning that they are not members formally.

I would like to express my deep appreciation and gratitude to all the members who have spoken. I am fully conscious of the fact that the question of support is not for a person; it is for a particular direction, for particular policies, for a particular programme. For the realization of these policies and programmes, we must all stand solidly together. Each one of us must be committed and involved and not just follow what we are doing. You must give your suggestions on how to improve the functioning and efficiency.

Speech at Meeting of Congress Parliamentary Party, November 13, 1969.

*"The Congress Parliamentary Party hereby declare that the decision of Shri Nijalingappa and his associates to remove the Prime Minister from the primary membership of the Congress is invalid and unjustified. Shrimati Indira Gandhi continues to be the leader of the Party and enjoys the full confidence of the Party."

How Congress Functions

I inherited a good many things from my father. The most precious of all those is confidence in the people of India. I have no doubt that this country, which has faced great storms in its long history, will always be able to weather whatever new storms burst upon us. Just now, to some people, the political situation seems to be insecure and difficult to understand. Actually I do not think it is so at all. What has happened recently was in the making for many years. In fact, it began immediately after Independence. As in all countries, there were different points of view. Only in India the Congress party was like an umbrella which had covered under itself many different points of view. That was a decisive factor in winning political independence. Even before Independence, there were different ways of functioning and thinking and there were different groups. But after Independence, the divisions became very much sharper.

I shall take you into confidence and tell you a personal anecdote. There was much talk that because my father did not perhaps agree with every sentiment of Mahatma Gandhi, there was some talk after Independence that Mahatma Gandhi did not wish him to be the Prime Minister. I heard this gossip and I went to Mahatma Gandhi and said: "If you do not want him to be the Prime Minister, you should say so openly and I think he should resign immediately, because at this moment only someone you want should be the Prime Minister." Mahatma Gandhi's reply was immediate and clear. He said: "I have made my own opinion very clear. I have said that I do not think anybody else can be Prime Minister at this moment. But even if I did not think so, I have neither the authority nor the power to make a change — because this choice is the people's choice and although the people will listen to much that I say, I doubt very much if they will listen to me if I go against your father."

The question is: Did my father take the party and the country in a direction which Mahatma Gandhi did not want? On all basic issues, they agreed entirely: on the issue of removal of poverty and particularly how to do it, on the issue of what we call secularism — that we could never be aligned with any party which believed in one religion or one race or one language. This was the very basis of secularism, democracy and socialism — though socialism is understood in slightly different meaning. Where the difference did come in was that Mahatma Gandhi believed in a sort of decentralization — improvement of village life without heavy industry. But I personally think that he said these things more because he had not gone deeply into the matter. Because anyone who were to look at Indian conditions would know that there was no means of giving a better life to the villagers unless we had industry, unless we produced within the country the things which our farmers and our other groups in the country needed to improve their living

standards. The only other way was to buy them from outside which meant foreign exchange, which we did not have, and which meant dependence on other nations, which we did not want to have. So the road that we took was, I think, the only possible road in the circumstances of India.

Since Independence much has been achieved and much has to be achieved. Where we have failed is not in that we went in for industry but in that we have not educated the people in a broader sense. For instance, take the attitude towards untouchables, whom Mahatma Gandhi called the Harijans. We put a clause in our Constitution that untouchability was illegal. At least I can speak for myself that we and my family and hundreds of other families had changed their attitude once and for all. But the effort was not made to educate people in a deep and meaningful way about these matters, with the result that although today every Government has at least one Minister from this class, and though a certain number of places are reserved in offices and schools and colleges, the old attitude of mind towards them does remain in many areas and even in some cities. This has been, I think, one of our major failures.

Even so, the greatest change that has come about is not the big buildings or industry or production or increase in exports or the agricultural revolution but the greatest change is in the minds of the people and nobody can have a conception of it unless they had lived in our villages before Independence. As a girl I went to a Harijan family and sat on the bed. They would wash that bed although I came from a higher caste. Because the thought was imbibed in their mind that any mixing of the castes is bad whether it is higher caste or the lower one.

We hear it said sometimes that the rich have become richer and the poor poorer. This I can tell you, is not a fact. The fact is that while the rich have grown richer, many people who were not so rich have grown richer. The number of people who were in between has also gone up. Even amongst the poor many people are in a much better situation, but those who lack things are more acutely aware of the lack than they were before.

The Indian bent of mind is such that people see things in extremes. If something is good then they praise it to the skies; if it is not good, then they think nothing can be worse. We nationalized fourteen banks a few months ago. Nobody in the Government, and certainly not myself, believed that it is going to create a revolution in India. It is a step which we thought became necessary because we were not able to work out effectively some previous steps. Had we been able to work social control as originally envisaged, we would not have had to nationalize the banks. But because that was not done, nationalization became politically and economically inevitable. The sort of response that it evoked in the country was unexpected and a little bit alarming. Although through

these banks we do now have some funds which can be used to give credit to those sectors of the population which did not get credit before, we cannot say that the difficulties of the poor will go or poverty will be wiped out. But this is the type of expectation which is visible in the people.

One of our greatest obstacles is the cynicism of our intelligentsia. No matter what is done, they always look at it as something that is of no account. This opinion is reflected in our press and it does have an influence on the people. Our press is divorced from the people. This has also happened to most of, in fact all, our political parties. I do not think that there is any single party which has really kept itself in touch with the people's thinking. But what is good at the same time is that the people have not remained where they were. They have gone ahead regardless of the political parties. There is a momentum in the country which nobody can stop — politicians, intellectuals or anybody else.

What I have done in my own party was not to split it; on the contrary, I tried desperately hard for three years to prevent this split which I could see coming. (In fact it nearly happened even in my father's time.) But I thought that it would be bad for the country and I tried to prevent it until a situation arose where the party was really getting so far from the people that I could not see the Congress party surviving even till the next elections in 1972. That is why I had to insist on something. Even then it is not I who asked the people who are with me to split the party, but the others who decided to go and sit with the Opposition. If I may say so, they showed rather unseemly haste in doing so. Had they continued for about a week till they got their proper seats, I do not think that anybody would have misjudged their intentions or judged it to be a weakness on their part. But on the very first day in Parliament they made a great dramatic show by sitting with the Opposition. It is not without point that the Opposition with which they sat is the extreme Rightist Opposition — the two parties which are in different ways entirely opposed to anything which Mahatma Gandhi stood for. I am specially mentioning this because, of late, Mr Minoo Masani has raised the cry "back to Gandhi". So it is worth while knowing what Gandhiji stood for. He may not have stood for socialism in the sense of the State having some of the means of production, but he did believe that nobody should have property. In fact he went some steps further when he said that he thought that people should have these things as a trust. But if it did not work out, then buildings and other property could be taken away. He saw no reason why any compensation should be given at all. He said that after all they had made this money from the people and things belonged to the people and there was no question of compensation. These are his words, not my words. But Government does give compensation.

The Swatantra party does not matter really, because it is a party which has no future. It was still-born from the beginning. But the party which is dangerous is the Right-wing Jana Sangh. It is dangerous because it appeals to the religious emotions of the people. When a person thinks of religion in an emotional way, he is swept off his feet. He cannot think logically or rationally, and this is the great danger of the Jana Sangh.

We may be able to change their thinking. They have changed quite a lot in recent years. They started off as being very conservative in their economic policy but lately they have been saying that they believe in socialism. Only, they do not think that we are socialists and we do not follow it properly! They were also against the very concept of planning. Now they say: Planning is good; but your plans are bad. In foreign policy also they were against our policy of nonalignment, and they were for a pro-Western attitude. During the last year they have begun saying that they believe in nonalignment but we are not certainly nonaligned.

I am not against the Jana Sangh but I am against certain ideas which I consider to be bad for national unity or national strength. As long as the Jana Sangh talks about superiority of the people of one religion, about the majority community being first-class citizens and the others being second-class citizens, I am going to oppose them with all my strength. I hope I am not immodest when I say that it was largely due to my efforts in the last mid-term polls that we were able to reduce Jana Sangh's seats both in Bihar and UP and for which they cannot forgive me.

We are settling down. The people are maturing politically. I gave the example of the Jana Sangh changing its stance. They changed not because of my speeches. They changed because they felt that the people would not allow them to hold certain ideas. They started off by being against bank nationalization. But they found that they could not go back to their constituencies; they could not say they were opposed to this measure. This is how the people themselves are bringing about changes.

Obviously, the people are not all at one level. Many of our Swatantra party MPs are elected from areas in Bihar which they had never visited before. They do not even speak the language of the people. They know nothing about it. But they got elected because people in those areas are economically backward and less politically conscious than in other parts. If I may give another example of the different levels of development in the country, in 1950 I went to a place in NEFA where the very first wheel that the people saw was the wheel of our Dakota plane. They had no conception of anything round, although they had a fairly developed irrigation system of their own. But they had never worked a wheel. They had not seen even a cart. That was in 1950. Today they have got jeeps. Still you cannot say that those people are as politically conscious as people in Delhi or Bombay.

Obviously, I cannot prophesy about India's future except that, as I said earlier, I have great confidence in the people. I have no doubt that whatever happens, they will come out on top. And that is what matters.

One of the points of disagreement between me and some of our party bosses was that right in the beginning, soon after becoming Prime Minister, I made a speech in Bombay where I said that the Congress was very dear to me but the country was more important. Some people joined the Congress at the age of 15, some at the age of 20 or 30. But I was born in the Congress. There was no time when my home, since I was born, was not the centre of all the major political movements, and when people from all over India — peasants and others — were not coming there. Nobody could be closer to the Congress or more emotionally involved than I have been. But even so, I do feel that the country is more important than the Congress. If the Congress serves the needs of the country, we are with it. But if it does not, we cannot say that it is more important than India or the people of India. Many people resented this remark of mine and felt that it was disloyalty to the party. I think the reason why the Congress went away from the people is that when a party is in power for a long time it gives an easy foothold to what in America is called 'bossism'. That is, a few people claim that they are the Congress; they are the people. Because of this, we started losing State after State. I saw no way in which we would make up that lag except by going once more direct to the people. I shall not go into why we lost Bengal or Kerala. Perhaps you have not heard what happened in Pondicherry. Pondicherry is a very small place. It is a charming French provincial town. We had a Congress Chief Minister there. He was a young Congress Muslim. For no reason suddenly some of our people decided that he must go. They said: "He is not the right person and it was a mistake for him to be made the Chief Minister." I said: "He is there. He has got elected. Now you wait for the next elections and you put up somebody else at the next elections." But they said: "No, No. He must go." I was unable to help him and I tried very hard with the party. But the person in charge of the party made up his mind, with the result that the Government fell and there was re-election. Now we have the same young man as the Chief Minister but he is not in the Congress but he is in the DMK. His Ministers who were in the Congress are now in DMK. His set-up is practically the same but instead of a Congress Government it is the DMK Government. I am giving this example to show that when for no particular reason you go against the people's wishes you get less and less in touch with the people.

Extracts from speech at the Indo-French Colloquium organized by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations and the India International Centre in New Delhi, December 13, 1969.

Thoughts on Present and Future Tasks

The twenty-fifth anniversary of our Independence coincides with our attainment of greater political cohesion, maturity and self-confidence. This has not happened by chance or accident. It is the result of the well-thought-out policy and direction which the Congress has given to the country and of its earnest endeavour all these years, and especially the last three years, to strengthen the foundations of our economic life and to prepare the ground for a growth which reaches out to the millions.

But the fact that we have attained a more stable position and that we have taken further steps towards our objectives are not reasons to sit back complacently. On the contrary, these are the very reasons for greater vigilance. We have been able to defeat the forces of reaction politically. Yet they remain embedded in our social and political life and take recourse to subterfuge. We must unmask the true face of reaction.

Whatever form the attack on us takes or whatever temporary or other issues they seek to exploit, it is clear that the assault is on secular democracy and socialism. It is strongly motivated by resentment against any infringement of the privileges of a few and our effort to give a new deal to the common man. Hence the confrontation still is between the forces of the status quo and those which stand for peaceful and democratic, but none the less effective, changes, for the modernization of our social structure and of our thinking and functioning.

The rationality or modernity of a party and an individual can be judged not by dress or language but by the beliefs which guide their functioning.

The Swatantra party stands openly for the top echelons of a rigid and hierarchical structure, for rank and wealth.

The Jana Sangh is a political chameleon but its main support comes from those who are often enough the middlemen, the exploiters of the working classes. In its character, composition and ideology it is nearest to fascism. The Jana Sangh dare not make a frontal attack on socialism. So it tries to rake up religious emotionalism and fan communal tensions not only against Muslims and Christians but on occasions against Sikhs and even Jains.

And there are Muslim, Sikh and Christian counterparts of the Jana Sangh even though less numerous and significant. We have to fight them all.

After the success of the Bangladesh struggle we believed that the two-nation theory had been laid to rest. What better proof could be had of the utter failure of religion as the sole cementing force for a diverse people? Yet we find that communal forces in our country persist in preaching suspicion and hatred towards those who follow other religions. Opposing communalisms do not cancel each other. On the contrary, they reinforce each other, causing tension and social instability. Extremism can never induce moderation, it strengthens opposite extremism. It is interesting to note the similarity in the thought and deeds of extreme

communal parties or groups. Communalism cannot be defeated through calculation or compromise but only through determined action. To end communalism we must work unremittingly for secularism without which there can be neither democracy nor socialism.

Reaction has always masqueraded as ultra-nationalism. Some people pose as superpatriots but they envisage national interest in the narrowest of terms. Their reaction to the recent Simla Agreement demonstrates their vested interest in conflict and a resistance to any attempt which diminishes confrontation. They seized upon the Simla Agreement as an opportunity and are launching an agitation which will no doubt attract publicity and, they hope, will gain them public sympathy. I doubt if this will appeal to any non-Jana Sanghi except out of curiosity and to see the *tamasha*. The people have shown great understanding of issues and a more mature awareness of the forces at work in our country and abroad.

What is the assessment of our long-term interests? Are we afraid of Pakistan? Is it this country, divided and beset with dissensions and other problems, which threatens us or are there stronger outside forces which have driven it on a particular course of confrontation? We have certainly suffered in the past from Pakistan's hostility but this has been even more detrimental to Pakistan itself. The aim of the interventionist forces from outside was to keep both nations weak and at their mercy. Those who preach permanent antagonism towards Pakistan are only playing the game of these bigger forces. However, we think that peace and eventual co-operation between India and Pakistan will eliminate opportunities for third-power intervention and will permit both countries to concentrate on the removal of poverty. This is not what external and internal reaction, both in India and Pakistan, want.

All over the world, nations are awakening to the fact, which India has always realized and proclaimed, that the technological, social and economic dilemmas of contemporary life can be solved only through multinational co-operation. It is this awareness which has prompted rapprochement between countries regarded as traditional enemies for the solution of problems long thought intractable. Can we afford to remain untouched by this climate of detente?

The Government must at all times remain vigilant in safeguarding the security of the country, but we would have ill-served the country had we acted arrogantly or wished to humiliate Pakistan. Peaceful coexistence with Pakistan is in our long-term interest. Hence the overwhelming support to the Simla Agreement. Congressmen must mobilize public opinion, engage our people in earnest debate and convince them of the reasoning underlying our approach so that mischievous criticism is effectively met.

The question is often asked: How long will the country have to wait before poverty is abolished?

The growth of political consciousness, widespread knowledge of conditions in other countries and the very success of the first stage of our development which has enabled large sections to derive visible benefits have sharpened the view of poverty. This is understandable, but do our people not appreciate the magnitude of the task involved in improving the living level of a population of fifty-six crores without recourse to coercion?

In our system we cannot, nor do we wish to, limit any political rights. Nor can there be an all-powerful executive. At the same time the people will not allow the concentration of power and wealth in the hands of a few even in the name of rapid growth. Progress can be achieved only through the willing involvement of the masses of our people, not as the vassals of power, but as the fountainhead of authority. The fight against poverty and unemployment is long and arduous. But we shall make it longer and more arduous if we take a wrong road and jeopardize national solidarity and discipline.

The democratic process is slow, but we believe it is sure. The hopes that have been aroused by the "Garibi Hatao" programme focus the public's critical attention on every decision and action, which is judged by a single criterion — does it reduce inequality? There has to be a three-pronged strategy: the measures to be taken by the Government in the legislature and through the administrative machinery. Follow-up action by the party. And, last, but not least, public participation.

The work before our Government for the next few years is clear. It must safeguard the country's unity and security and enlarge the field of friendship and co-operation with other nations. It must resist any foreign attempts to pressurize us into changing our independent policies. It must strengthen the nation's economic self-reliance and put our vast human and natural resources to the most productive use. All attempts to incite violence, anarchy or disaffection between regions and between various sections of society must be curbed. In working for equality, special attention should be given to those who have been the traditional victims of discrimination.

It is not enough to fight communalism. Assumptions of superiority based upon caste or privilege and the traditional attitude of looking down upon women and members of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes or for that matter anybody who is or looks poor have also to be fought. It is our duty to create a social *milieu* in which the young and the socially weak feel that the present and the future belong to them. The Government has urgently to create greater employment, implement land reforms and relieve the pressure on the harried middle classes.

Too long have we been bound to precedent and to outdated administrative and financial procedures. Within the framework of democratic functioning and parliamentary accountability, it is possible

and necessary to fashion new modes of mobilizing the energies of the people for national enrichment. How can we hope to find employment for vast numbers in the rural and urban areas unless we embark boldly upon new projects and patterns of work? We need a fresh outlook in which the artificial separation of manual and mental work is broken down and a harmonious relationship established between them.

In working for our avowed objective, Congressmen should not yield to the temptation of overtaking one another. Individuals and groups within a party would like to feel that they represent the true path and accuse others of slackening. The talk of diluting land reforms or other measures is irrelevant. Every Chief Minister of the Congress is committed to our declared programme; but if there are problems specific to parts of his State he must look into them. It would be wrong to force a step which for any reason might become self-defeating. What is important is that land reform has been raised above party politics and has become a nationally accepted programme. Those whose convictions are firm do not have to prove their credentials. Party workers should appreciate that effective realization of objectives might require tactical readjustments.

One of the great sources of the strength of our party is that it has attracted people of all regions and social strata. We are conscious that actions which benefit only a small section of society at the cost of others are harmful to the nation. Sectionalism is as much an obstacle to all-round social progress as regionalism is to national unity. Socialism implies distributive justice, but in our conditions more equitable distribution must accompany higher production. The basic need is to enlarge social resources to sustain our numerous programmes of welfare and equality. Congressmen and women must undertake an educational programme so that people are not carried away by voices of extremism or misled into making increasing demands.

The various forms of pseudo-socialism as preached by the Socialist party, or recently propagated by the Jana Sangh and other such parties must be opposed for these are attempts to mask their real intentions to subtly gain the confidence of the people who rejected them in 1971 and 1972. The Congress must also resolutely resist the activities of parties which preach personal and collective violence. It should vigilantly counteract regional chauvinism.

In a democracy the relations between party and government are subtle and complex. The party sets the goals for the people and offers them a concrete programme. The people's mandate enables the party to form the government and to translate the vision into reality. The party's work does not end with the formation of government. It must keep up the momentum, lead the democratic debate and, above all, serve as a bridge of understanding between the Government and the people.

The party must reflect the popular will and at the same time, mould it.

It must keep the executive in touch with the people's thinking and not allow any occasion for a credibility gap or a situation of misplaced priorities. To be effective and relevant, the party must supplement and complement the Government's work and secure greater popular involvement in the national endeavour. The true test of the success of a party or a government is when the people will not ask: "What is the Government doing for us?" but "What are we doing for the nation?"

Our aim is not to fight with any party but to create an atmosphere of public awareness, interest and utmost vigilance so that no group or individual can go against the public welfare.

Our party should not be obsessed with elections. Its strength comes from the quality and reach of its work among the rural masses, industrial workers, women and members of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, from the rapport it can establish with students, and from the alacrity with which it comes forward to redress people's sufferings not only in times of natural calamity but from day to day. If we take care of work at the grass-roots level, elections will hold no uncertainties. Party members, whether in State or Central legislatures or working in villages and towns, should acquire an image of dedicated men of integrity. This they can do only if they live and work for the people.

In the days of the Non-co-operation Movement, it was said that the Congress did not represent the people, it *was* the people. The time has come once again when the Congress can claim to be the only true vehicle of the people's will. While being a mass party, Congress should also encourage more wholetime workers at district level and at State and national headquarters who will study economic and political problems and help to co-ordinate the work of our volunteers and supporters and to give proper guidance to newcomers. The Congress will remain a revolutionary party to the extent that it attracts young people and harnesses their talents. Greater thought also needs to be given to new methods of financing the party's work through small contributions from as large a number of people as possible.

We are concerned with economic growth and the removal of the hardships with which the underprivileged have been burdened for centuries. Neither new laws nor the nationalization of industries or other such steps can by themselves solve these problems which are far more complex than they seem on the surface. Social thinking and civic responsibility are essential ground-work for success in any areas.

The word 'revolution' is popular among young people but they imprison it in out-of-date concepts and 'isms'. In earlier times, revolutions in other parts of the world seemed glamorous for they gave birth to entirely new concepts. For the first time it was demonstrated that class distinctions and inequality of opportunity are not only unnecessary but actually evil. This outlook is no longer a novelty but an accepted

principle in our country. Our task is to translate the theory into practice in the daily lives of our people.

This is a task of gigantic proportions. Yet it is only a part of what we must do. No nation can afford to be fully engrossed in the present; it must simultaneously extend its antennae towards the future, not just to guess what it will be like but to give positive direction. The most urgent revolution is not of the economy, important as this is, but of our thought processes. In an advancing nation the government or political parties cannot be the sole sources of ideas and innovations.

Despite twenty-five years of political independence, as a nation we continue to be intellectually diffident and culturally imitative. The process of economic development seems to have inhibited rather than encouraged the earlier yearning to have our own distinctive path. A nation with so rich a heritage, and with such exciting potentiality such as India, cannot live by imitation of others' values and ways of life. If we are not to lag behind the affluent nations, drifting away from our moorings, our young people must think new thoughts, must discover new paths, must invent new methods for all areas of life. We must aim at a society of economically free and intellectually creative, confident and responsible individuals.

I should like the Youth Congress, the Chhatra Parishad and other such forums to address themselves particularly to the task of modernizing our society. Today they take up local issues and they have waged several successful battles. But to make a mark on history, fervour of action must be backed by quality of thought. Above all, let us have pride in our country, not the false pride which breeds arrogance or feelings of superiority, but the pride which compels one to strive even harder, to give of one's utmost.

Women have a special role in our party and in the shaping of the new society, for most attitudes, good or bad, are formed in the home. The Indian woman must become an instrument of change, transforming and creating a society where she is free, equal and compassionate and where she has the maturity and the vision to retain the stability and strength of her roots and yet fulfil her new vocations and the new directions of India's social objectives.

It has been said that "Freedom is not the right to do as one likes but the liberty to do as one ought". Freedom is not a negative concept — merely the rejection of foreign rule. Freedom is that which helps us to break out of the confines of fear and hate, of chauvinism and obscurantism and of the shackles of dead habit. Freedom is the atmosphere which enables each individual to grow to his full height. This is the freedom for which we must strive.

Section II

(iii) Building the Nation

The Secular Base

I

If there is one thing that distinguished our struggle for freedom from those from the struggles of other nations, it was the absence of hate. I remember, when my father spoke in various foreign countries about our freedom struggle, both before and after Independence, there was one sentence which had the most power to move the people. That was that throughout our long struggle, in spite of the many hardships and sacrifices that the Indian people underwent, there was *no time when anybody lifted a hand* against an Englishman when he walked through the streets. This was a thing to be proud of and this is what Gandhiji had stressed to us time and time again. Because we learnt this lesson from him, we ourselves have grown in stature.

Should we not apply the same rule to our own people? It is something within us, some lack within us that makes us give in to violence on very little provocation. This is not a sign of strength or courage, but of very great weakness and cowardice. What can be more cowardly than a group of people wanting to kill or hurt an individual?

In 1947—it now seems a long time ago—I was keeping rather ill. But Gandhiji sent for me and said: “I know you are not well, but I want you to do a job of work. I want you to go into the Muslim *mohallas* of Delhi and let me know whether they have food, how they are faring, what is the general condition of health, and so on.”

I said, “Bapuji, I don’t know Delhi. I have not lived here and I don’t know which are the Muslim areas and Hindu areas. I don’t know the roads. I don’t know people here. Who will go with me?”

I cannot forget his answer. He said: “If I had one person who could go with you I would not ask you to do this.”

So I went alone.

I did not know where to go and so I went to the Town Hall and I saw a girl there wearing a white khadi sari. I did not know her name. She did not know my name. I walked up to her and asked: “Do you live in Delhi?” She said: “Yes.” And I said: “Do you know Delhi? Have you been working here?” She said: “Yes, I have been working in the labour areas and I know the areas quite well.” I said: “Do you know where the Muslims live?” She said: “Yes, of course.” Then I said: “I want to go into the Muslim areas and I want somebody to go with me. Will you come with me?” She said: “Yes.”

We still did not know each other’s names. Then I said: “My name is so and so, what is yours?” “My name is Subhadra Joshi.” This is how we first met.

And why had Gandhiji sent for me out of all the other people? Because he had heard a story. I personally don’t think it was a story worth telling. But the very fact that at that time it was considered strange and worth telling also shows up something about our character. He had heard that I had saved somebody from a mob at the risk of my life. I told him

that I did not think there was any risk at all. Because there is nothing that frightens a bullying mob more than anybody not being afraid. No weapon is needed and nothing is needed except the fact of genuinely not being afraid. I saw a man being pursued by about two hundred armed people. An old man between sixty or seventy. And when I jumped out of the running car and put this man behind me, the crowd said: "What do you think you are doing, who are you?"

And I said: "It doesn't matter what my name is, but I want to know what you are doing. I know what I am doing. I am saving this man. What are you doing?"

They said: "You can't save him. We are going to kill him and if you stand there we will kill you too."

I said: "Well, if you want to kill me, you certainly may do so. But I don't think you have the courage. Not one of you, two hundred people, has the courage to lift his hand here." And it was true. They did not have the courage. There was nothing to prevent them. I had nothing in my hands. I was barefoot. I had just run out of the car without thinking of any kind of action.

So something is wrong not only with the people who do these acts but with the very larger number of intelligent, thinking, sensitive people who watch them being done or who read about them and still do not react.

Some poet has said: "Don't mourn those who are captive or who are killed, but mourn the apathetic throng." Now this is what we have become. We have become apathetic to all the violence and the tragedy that we see around us. We have become apathetic not only to communal violence, but even to the other types of wrongs that take place. We are apathetic when we see an accident, and a person lies bleeding on the road. This is what we have to consider. What is wrong with us? Is there some psychological failure? Is there something in our past which is responsible? I should like this Council for Communal Harmony somehow to deal with the apathetic throng.

I shall take you back again to those 1947 days when Subhadraji and I were working together in the *mohallas* of Old Delhi. Whenever we saw a person in the act of attempting to kill or to hurt, we got that person arrested, and we found after a little while that our whole contacts were with all these bad people who were doing bad deeds and suddenly we stopped and we looked at each other and said: "What are we becoming? All our time is spent with these awful people! Let those who want to look out for these bad people do it. We shall try and look out for good people."

And from that day we started a new strategy. We went into the Muslim *mohalla* and we asked: "You live with the Hindus as your neighbours. Can you give us two or three names of Hindus who throughout this

dreadful period have not done anything wrong, who have not indulged in bad actions, who have not said anything that has hurt you? Is there any such person?" And the reply came: "Of course, there are. There is so and so, and Pandit so and so." Two or three names were given. We then went to the Hindu *mohalla* and then we asked: "Do you know of any such Muslim name?" And they equally readily said: "We know these and those people." Then we said: "Well, now, we know these are good people. Will you meet together?" "Oh, No," they said, "We can't meet these people."

You know, it took many days of going back and forth from one house to another to persuade the first five of one religion to meet the five of the other religion. But once that first step was taken, afterwards it became much easier. And I think within about ten days later we were able to have a tea party of over five hundred people. By that time we stopped counting who was from which religion. And once we got on to that step, the communal rioting stopped. So, I think, the path which we must follow is to give more courage to those who are sensitive, who are of our way of thinking, who believe that this country cannot exist unless the people of different religions can live peacefully together.

We talk of India. We talk of Indian citizenship. What is India? It is not any small part. It is not Bengal or Kerala; however beautiful it may be. It is not UP, however big UP may be. India is a mixture of all these. What is Indian culture? It is a composite thing influenced by all the many people who have been here. Today it is equally being influenced by the West. And however much we want to violate this or that influence, we cannot. And so about the language we speak. I am not talking of English. I am talking of Hindustani, or Hindi even. It is influenced by English. The British came here from their home and today in the English language there are thousands of words from Indian languages. Those who lived and worked here lived as masters. But even then they went away from here profoundly influenced by the whole culture of India. The richness of our culture is due to diversity, to all the different component parts which have combined together to make India the wonderful country that we know. And if we are to keep this richness, each person must naturally be treated as equally Indian. When we talk of religions, we tend to talk only of Hindus and Muslims. There are many other religions as well — not only the Christian, Parsi, Sikh, and Jain religion, but many other small religions such as those of our tribal areas. Even within Hinduism there are many different sects. All these together have made us a country. All these together can give us strength.

Because we have trouble with Pakistan, some of our people wrongly consider some Muslims to be spies. This is wrong psychology. Recently, a very big man was caught in France and convicted for spying on behalf, I think, of the USSR. Was he a Communist? No. His reputation

there was as a prominent anti-Communist. He was a person who talked against communism, against Soviet Union, day in and day out. But he was caught and he was proved to be a spy. If I want to engage a spy anywhere I shall obviously engage a person who is the least likely to be suspected of being a spy. I am not going to take the most obvious person. If I am a Chinese I am not going to have Chinese spies here in Calcutta.

There are people who do wrong in all communities. It is not just the Muslim community or the Hindu community who do wrong. But the social consciousness of the vast majority keeps them in check. It is not just the laws, the locking up of the people, that prevent people. But it is the thought of what their neighbours will think that holds them back.

So I should like this Council to look at the matter from this point of view and find out how to mobilize people in large numbers all over the country, how to build up a regular army of dedicated people who will feel strongly enough about the unity and strength of their country to fight for communal harmony and communal unity. As Dr Radhakrishnan has said, nobody from outside can degrade a country. Degradation comes only from our own acts. So, let us lift this country to the high ideals for which our leaders have lived and died. In a few days it will be a year since my father died. I think he was an Indian in the real sense of the word. He was not a Hindu nor was he a Muslim. And yet I think he was more Hindu than any Hindu that I have met. He was deeply versed in Vedanta and he cared for it deeply too, because he cared for the thought behind it, and not for the routine of going to a temple or worshipping before an idol. The fundamental truths for which Hinduism has stood have kept our people going through centuries of oppression and hardship and suffering. People who come from abroad sometimes ask how our people have survived. Look at the squalor. Look at the misery. How can you live through this? Well, there is something in us, some idealism, which was the foundation of Hinduism, which has kept us going. It was to strengthen this that both Gandhiji, who was known as a man of religion, and my father, who was known not as a man of religion, but who was very deeply religious in the very true sense of the word, fought. They knew that without this India would be nothing. And with this India would not only live but be the greatest country that ever was. Today we find all over the world a kind of search. We have tremendous material progress in many countries, tremendous technological advance, and yet what do we find? There is growing restlessness. People are not satisfied. They are looking for something else. I believe that India can give an answer to that search, provide something which people can grasp, something which is of value.

Excerpts from speech at a meeting of the Council for Promotion of Communal Harmony, Calcutta, May 23, 1965.

When the first National Integration Council was called in 1962, certain decisions were taken. It is unfortunate that we were lulled into a sense of complacency by the tremendous national solidarity evinced at the time of the Chinese invasion of our frontier and at that time the Council was wound up. This revived Council, I hope, will function and become a durable institution. It would be a pity for us to duplicate the work that was done by the previous Council. I personally feel that our time would be more usefully spent if we carried on at this Conference from where we had left off at the last even though considerable time has passed in between.

The greatest menace which our country faces today is that of communalism. After 20 years of Independence and at a time when we had thought that this problem was more or less solved, once again communal clashes are occurring in different parts of the country.

The second menace is that of provincialism or regionalism or parochialism. I believe this is evoked by the same sentiments which are behind communalism. In fact, it is an extension of the same sort of feeling.

Another serious danger to national integration and perhaps one of the causes of the other menaces is the persistence of inequalities. In law and theory the ancient discriminations have been abolished but opportunities have not been growing as fast as the aspirations of backward classes and tribes and minorities and other such groups.

The purpose of this Council, as I see it, is to focus attention on national integration, to create a forum which would guide and keep in touch with the action taken for integration in different parts of the country, to unite various groups to apply their minds to the question — of course political parties are included in this but it is just as important to involve voluntary organizations, people like industrial labour, students and intellectuals and other such categories — and lastly to implement with a feeling of urgency the suggestions or decisions taken in this forum.

Divisive forces and tendencies have existed in all societies and at all times. Certainly these forces existed in India even during the years of struggle for freedom, but the mainstream of nationalism was powerful enough to sidetrack them and also to fight them and therefore we were able to march ahead. During the 20 years since Independence we have had constantly to combat these forces in one form or another. In fact, the struggle for national integration, the struggle for national solidarity, the struggle for safeguarding the ideals and aspirations embodied in our Constitution, has to be waged ceaselessly and tenaciously. I do not think a time can ever come when these forces will not want to raise their head. But it should be our endeavour to create an atmosphere and to create conditions in which this will not be

possible and in which the whole of society will react against them if they made such an effort.

As we survey the national scene, we feel there is indeed cause for anxiety and also cause for shame that lives of Indian nationals should be threatened in their own homes and in their places of business because of community or religion. No Indian citizen from one part of the country should be made to feel insecure in another part. The great industrial complexes like Calcutta, Bombay and Madras are the result of investment of capital of the country as a whole and of the skill of the entire country. Therefore every citizen of India has a right to work and to live without fear in every part. Killing or attacking the fellow human beings solves no problem and those who indulge in such anti-social and anti-national acts are rather like the monkey in our old fable which in trying to squash the fly injured the face. Similarly they in the long run injure themselves.

The need for national integration therefore does not arise merely from a moral purpose. Certainly the moral purpose is there but in the world as it exists today, as it is evolving today, national integration is the very condition of our national survival. It is a practical necessity if we are to go forward with our development plans and to progress in unity and strength. It is only in the measure that we recognize this fact that we can evoke a mood in the entire country to address ourselves to an effective solution of the problem. At times these problems seem insuperable but the entire story of modern India is one of overcoming of seemingly insurmountable obstacles. No thinking person should wish to weaken the unity of the country. I am convinced that the forces of integration are strong but they do need to be united and to be given some guidance. I think this Council will provide the means for doing so. We must find a way harnessing the basic decency, the basic common sense of the average citizen in order to overcome these forces which threaten his future and the future of his children.

The effort needs to be made not merely at the governmental level, although the Government's responsibility is a heavy one, but at a wider level involving not merely political parties and the administrators but also students, writers, artists, educationists, different types of cultural and other organizations and all those who work and can work in and through the media of mass communication. We are gathered here to give thought as to how we can achieve this. We have to create some machinery which is adequate for the purpose. We have to think in terms of a concrete national programme involving every significant section of our society in a purposeful action to combat in every town and indeed in every village and every street the dark forces which seek to disintegrate the very fabric of our social and political existence. I think this Council should be able to give a call to all those who have

national integration at heart to come forward and to rally together. Only such a mass movement dedicated to this purpose of national integration and secularism sustained over a long period of time can help to find an adequate answer for the solution of this very grave problem.

By such means our people should be able to understand the virus of communalism and of regionalism which seem to corrode our national will and purpose. We must also study and expose to public gaze the poisoning of the young mind through misguided educational processes and ill-conceived textbooks. We shall study in depth and propose solutions to all these disruptive effects of economic imbalance and disparity. But I think that while these studies and deep analysis are necessary, they will take time and we should not get blocked.

What we need is a many pronged attack on the forces of disintegration. Merely to say that if we overcome economic disparities and attain a degree of affluence, we shall solve our problems is not enough. And since every problem ultimately has its origin in the mind of man, we have to ensure that our educational processes, the books we read, the radio we hear, the films we see, do not distort the Indian mind but guide so that it can contribute to integration and solidarity.

There will perhaps be differing analysis of the problem and the diagnosis of the disease because we are a mixed group, but I certainly hope that as a result of this Council's meeting there would emerge an agreed approach to what needs to be done to start the healing process so that our society and body politic become healthy, strong and self-confident.

As I said earlier, an important part of the responsibility rests with the Central Government; but how can they discharge their duty without the co-operation of the State Governments? We have to consider therefore what the States can do, how political parties can help, how the Press can help, what role the general public can play and how this particular organization or the machinery which is set up works. Should we have committees at the Centre or at the State level? What collective effort can be made for permanent vigilance? I do not wish to lay down the law or to set any rule because the whole purpose of this meeting is to invite suggestions and concrete proposals. I certainly hope that when you are speaking, you will help us in this regard by not giving us so much general analysis as to take up specific points which can be discussed and on which action could be taken in a purposeful manner.

A great deal of thought went into the calling of this Council. There was some delay because we were consulting people. I speak today with great sorrow in my heart. It is not just sympathy for the minorities, Muslims or Christians or any other minorities, nor even merely concern for the downtrodden, the Harijans or the tribals, but a deep anguish at the blurring of India's image and the tarnishing of the basic

values and ideals which have made India great through the ages. In modern India, I think, two men above all others made it their mission to discover India and to interpret her and her values to our own people and indeed to the people of the world. Swami Vivekananda did the pioneering work in this and I think my father and other national leaders continued this work. They have all stressed the same values. Our former President, Dr Radhakrishnan, has described an Indian as not just a person who is born in India but one who believes in the ideals and values for which India has stood through the ages.

In all periods of India's true greatness she has stood for tolerance, for respect of other faiths. This, as you know, has been enshrined in our Constitution. But this has never meant and cannot now mean tolerance for those who strike at the very root of our unity and hence our future. The question is serious enough to be studied calmly. But in all great causes it needs a deep conviction that this is the most urgent question of the day and also a burning passion to summon all our strength and will to surmount it by fighting injustice, inequality, discrimination and disruption. Let us not degrade the very name of Indian citizenship. Let us not leave this meeting with pious platitudes or vague generalizations but give definite guidelines for action. And let us have a firm resolve to implement them through an adequate machinery set up for this purpose.

Extracts from speech at meeting of the National Integration Council, Srinagar, June 20, 1968.

Our tradition has not been one of communalism or parochialism but of tolerance, of mutual exchange and of peaceful living together. This is the teaching of our great men. The Emperor Ashoka proclaimed that reverence for one's faith rested on reverence for others' faith. So did the Emperor Akbar. So in our own times did Gandhiji, who included the equality of all religions among his famous Eleven Vows. My father believed that tolerance is the basis of our unity and indeed the foundation on which world peace can be built.

A nation is a mosaic — like a work of art. It takes many elements, many textures and many colours to give the total effect of strength and beauty. The Indian nation is such a rich mosaic of people, of dress and diet, of cultures, of languages, of faiths. Yet, this diversity is encompassed within an intangible quality of Indianness. Our heritage is the mingling of numerous streams, great and small, which have joined the river of India's progress at different times. Together, all these differing parts make up the whole. To deny or ignore any — even the smallest or the most recent — would be to diminish India.

Long and glorious though the past might be, India belongs also to the future. So, the sense of Indianness, the concept of Indian nationhood is also a projection of the ideals and aspirations of our people. The future is ours to build together. This is the true meaning of our secularism.

Secularism in India does not mean animosity towards religion. It implies equal respect for all religions and a separation of church from State. Nor is it limited to religion alone. It is concerned with the breaking down of other barriers — of caste, of region, of language, of colour, of prejudice and of superstition. It implies a rational approach to modern life, based on the principles of liberty and social justice.

We have a tendency to speak of majority and minority communities. I think this is rather misleading and irrelevant with reference to India as a whole. 'Majority' and 'minority' are relative terms. The Jews of Kerala are a minority in one sense. But as Malayalam-speaking people they are numerically larger than many other groups in the country. At the other end of the scale the so-called Hindu majority is fragmented into linguistic, caste and regional groups like everybody else. There are perhaps only two real majorities in India — the poor and the young. But these also are not simple majorities. They are large and complex social categories consisting of many layers.

Often, the so-called minorities seek a separate status of one kind or another in order to claim protection against general competition. This divisive instinct, although natural and understandable in a competitive democracy, does not really answer the larger social and political problems which must be solved for the ultimate welfare of the minority group. All our so-called minorities — religious, linguistic, regional and others — should avoid such escapism. Yet it must be strongly emphasized that the duty

and the privilege of every majority is to protect and safeguard the legitimate rights and aspirations of every minority at all times.

Many of the divisions which we find in India today are the by-products of what might be termed the politics of scarcity. Since there is not enough to go round, people define exclusive categories which should be favoured for one reason or another. This is not the whole truth, but it is a substantial factor in the present-day situation. Each one can have more only if and when we are able to increase national wealth. This should be our primary task. We must all work together to build India in such a manner that the two genuine majorities — our poor and our youth — get greater satisfaction and fulfilment.

We are at the threshold of a new year — another page in the story of India. What shall we write on this page? Those who come after us will judge us by what we achieve, by the unity and discipline which we show, by the standards we maintain and by our dedication to secularism, development and peace.

Extracts from address at four hundredth anniversary celebration of the Cochin Synagogue, December 15, 1968.

Democracy at Work

I

During our struggle for independence, it seemed that freedom itself would be fulfilment. But when we achieved it, we knew that every completion is a beginning. For us, this was the start of a great experiment in the creation of democracy in an ancient, complex and vast country.

The story of Indian development is not without significance for the rest of the world. How could it be otherwise when it encompasses the aspirations and struggles of over five hundred and fifty million human beings? Political theorists with their neatly labelled indices have sometimes spoken of democracy in India as a futile quest. To them democracy could only be a two-party system worked by those who were educated in a particular way. Perhaps as advanced people of the West, of a generation ago, had protested that the colonial countries were not ready for freedom, so it was said that the underdeveloped societies of Asia and Africa were not ready for democracy and could achieve order only under dictatorship of some kind, or at most a controlled or guided democracy. Can democracy be guided any more than freedom? Is not a guided democracy a contradiction? Perhaps these questions are irrelevant. For it now seems that in some countries the word 'Democracy' was used as a shield for Reaction and for the subversion of freedom. But we did take democracy seriously. To us it conveyed the equality of all people to participate at every level in the functioning of Government.

In the choice of political institutions, it is not inevitably the past that is decisive, but the changing conditions of the lives and attitudes of people and the capacity of those who are in positions of leadership to involve the largest number of people in the political process.

The British ruled over us for two hundred years. Little did those early colonizers realize that along with their flag they brought the seeds which would destroy their rule. Macaulay, who pleaded so passionately for Western education, did not quite foresee that he was undermining the edifice he was so anxious to perpetuate. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries brought ancient India face to face with the imperatives of the contemporary world. And we quickly absorbed all that was relevant and significant in Bentham and Mill, in Rousseau and Voltaire, down to Marx and Weber. All this was grafted onto the Indian ethos. We then had Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru, to mention only a few.

Our democracy is dedicated to planned economic development, the peaceful transformation of an old social order and the uplifting of millions of people from conditions of social, economic and technological underdevelopment. Thus, what we are attempting in India is not mere imitation of the Westminster system but a creative application of meaningful democracy to the vastly different economic and social problems of India.

Democracy was not entirely new to India, for its roots could be found also in our old panchayat system. This system probably came into being

because the village and the people were too distant from the centres of political power. Today this ancient institution has been transformed into a new organ of self-government at district and, what we call, block levels as a link between the Government's programmes and the people.

The concept of the rule of law and the British pattern of administration may have helped to keep order in the country, but much in these institutions has remained static, and without changes. They are becoming stumbling-blocks to democracy and to progress.

There are forces in our society, as in others, which pull in opposite directions. The competitiveness of democracy and of contemporary living seems superficially sometimes to have strengthened the hold of caste, religion and region, and these are now exploited for social and economic gain. But this is a passing phase and these differences cannot weaken India's fundamental unity or the basic sense of Indianness which is a powerful binding factor. Paradoxical though it may sound, we believe that the functioning of democracy itself can remove these obstacles on the democratic path.

Education has expanded tremendously and today there are 2 million students in colleges, the number of children in schools has gone up from 23.4 million in 1951 to 83 million, but I am sorry to say that we have not done as well as we should have in our programmes for adult literacy. Without being able to read, a person's world is a limited one, for he cannot share the knowledge and companionship that come with books. We must, and we are, doing more for primary education, to strengthen secondary education and for adult literacy programmes. At the same time, I cannot agree with the common belief in the West that literacy by itself gives greater wisdom or understanding. Our people, illiterate though they may sometimes be, are the inheritors of an ancient culture and philosophy, which have sustained them through the vicissitudes of their long history. Indian voters have shown extraordinary insight and understanding of what goes on around them. If some are misled by false propaganda or diverted by irrelevant factors their number is not larger than those of their literate — even educated — counterparts in other countries. The Indian voter knows where his interests lie and has exercised his right to vote with great political sophistication in spite of the competitive political platforms of numerous parties, even in the face of threat and violence. It is because of this basic soundness of our people that democracy has taken root in India.

Since long before Independence, the Congress party had committed itself to certain programmes. Indeed our leaders had made it clear that we were fighting not only against foreign rule but against all that was evil in our society, against injustice and poverty and social inequality. Our system must therefore cater to the genuine needs of ordinary people without neglecting the long-term development of the country.

Development adds a new dimension to the challenge of democracy.

Three distinct streams of thought have combined to produce what might vaguely be called the Indian approach to democracy. There is a stream of liberalism and parliamentary democracy, which emerged out of the British system — parliamentary institutions, political parties, free elections, fundamental rights and freedom, the rule of law, etc., which formed the political core of our democratic system. Parliament is the commanding centre of our political system, and Government's responsibility to the legislature at the Centre and in the States is beyond dispute.

In modern society, freedom cannot be the unrestricted play of individualism, nor the apotheosis of private interests and private enterprise as against social interest and the public good. Freedom lies in a delicate and continuous balancing of the rights of the individual with the rights of society. Our Constitution and our actual political practice provide a larger degree of freedom than is obtained anywhere else in the world. We stand for the freedom of the press, but we do not accept the proposition that the freedom of the press means the freedom of industrialists to own the press, or that the right to property should also stand in the way of progressive and necessary social legislation to lessen glaring inequalities of wealth and bring the reality of economic freedom to larger sections of the population. We have taken action to eliminate these anomalies. We have sought to amend the Constitution in order to give substance to democracy.

The second major stream is that of socialist thought with emphasis on social democracy and economic planning and development. Our nationalist movement had interpreted political independence and democracy in terms of the welfare of the common man. After Independence, this interpretation became the predominant content of our democratic system. Indeed, the entire apparatus of democracy is geared to social and economic development. In Europe, democracy as we know it, followed the industrial revolution. In India democracy with its freedom and pressing popular demands came first, and the process of industrialization, economic development and major welfare schemes have to be operated in the face of diverse and contradictory pressures.

This baffling combination makes our task more difficult and because of the absence of organized propaganda, our achievement appears less spectacular than the accomplishment of others by different methods. But we think that we have gained something in the longer run, not so much in glittering material terms, but in terms of human values gained, in terms of human sufferings avoided, and in terms of the enduring and harmonious development of the individual and society. I do believe that real and lasting social transformation, encompassing attitudes of mind and ways of living of millions of people, can be effected only

by peaceful means.

The third stream has emanated from Mahatma Gandhi and his philosophy of non-violent revolution. The impact of Gandhian thought and method on democracy in India is indirect and impalpable, yet subtly pervasive. It has supported and enriched India. This whole experiment, this endeavour to combine freedom, socialism and the methods of peace in an immensely complex situation is taking place in India, not in isolation from the rest of the world, but in the midst of international co-operation and in the glare of world-wide publicity. International co-operation is a constituent element of India's effort in building a progressive economy and a democratic society. This is why ever since our Independence we have put forward the idea of world peace and world co-operation as an enlightened national interest of India.

We believe in, and we have strictly adhered to, the principle of non-interference. But can this be one-sided? Today there is interference in our affairs, and the stability, progress and security of our country are gravely threatened. As a result of the tragic events in East Bengal, nine million people have poured into our territory, creating a situation which seems to surpass the convulsions of Partition. The crisis in Pakistan is a deep one and the spectre which haunts that unhappy country cannot be exorcised by the usual recourse to blaming India. Two questions arise. First, whether religion by itself can form the basis of a nation-state in our times, especially when the State machinery is impervious to the ordinary laws of political development and cultural aspirations, and secondly, whether some action other than that of the bayonet is not necessary to win loyalty. We in India are restrained and calm in the face of threat and provocation, but we are bound to protect the interests of our country.

No country, least of all one as vast and varied as India, can be classified under one label or another. It seems to me that even those who claim expert knowledge of India are often wide off the mark in their assessment of Indian events.

Many specialists tend to fit facts into a preconceived framework of theory about caste and models of development which have little relevance to reality. Even in Britain, which has such close historical ties with us, there is a wide gap in the understanding of the forces which have shaped our recent history and which are influencing us today. To have a worth-while dialogue such an understanding is vital. Britain and India must both replace the old myths by a more rational approach. Given the necessary intellectual efforts on both sides, I am confident that India and Britain can have creative and purposeful relations. It is the hope of bringing about such relations that brings me to London and to this Institute.

Address to the Royal Institute of International Relations, London, October 29, 1971.

The relationship between one who is active in politics and those who study, analyse and comment about it is something like the relationship between an author and critics. Not all authors may like a confrontation with critics, but I can assure you that I am very glad to be here this morning and to have this opportunity of meeting you, even though at some distance.

Our country is today passing through a fascinating period. People know the direction they want to take and the goal they have to reach. They are also fairly certain about their means and instruments and they have the power to wield the means and to move faster. Greater mass involvement is taking place and mass power is being generated. As I said on another occasion and in another country, this is the first time when the people are speaking for themselves. Throughout history we have had great leaders of people but the masses of the people themselves were silent. Somebody was trying to express their hopes, their aspirations and what was in their minds, as Mahatma Gandhi did so beautifully in our own times here. But for the first time today, here and all over the world, the people are coming into their own and expressing their own desires as well as their fears and difficulties.

One of the main differences between our own struggle for freedom and that of other newly free countries is that under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, our movement ceased to be an elitist one and developed a mass base, while retaining high intellectual and moral sensitiveness. India, which was a cultural entity, became an independent, political reality. But the process did not stop with freedom. We have always regarded freedom not as the culmination but as the beginning — the beginning of an endeavour to fashion an integrated society in which the old divisions of caste, hierarchy and privilege are abolished and new social obligations and linkages are established involving and benefiting all sections.

Twenty-five years have passed since the attainment of freedom. In these twenty-five years, we have come far. Now and then, there may have been a slow-down and even a setback. But, by and large, the record is that of forward movement, of consolidation and thrust. In spite of invasions from outside, in spite of drought which was the century's worst, and other economic crises, the people have today more self-confidence, greater maturity and, I think, enduring faith in the system they have adopted. The quality of their judgment in successive general elections shows how our people who are far from affluent and, as the Vice-Chancellor pointed out, have no literacy even, have been politically discriminating and capable of asserting their true interests.

I should like to join issue with the Vice-Chancellor a little on that word literacy. Literacy is indeed extremely important, but the question arises: Literacy for what? Once you know how to read, what are

you going to read? Is it enough that we have literate people and they read what we see large masses of people in literate countries are reading? Perhaps it is better we do not read that. I do not think that literacy by itself has any connection with the growth of intelligence, the growth of judgment, or the growth of values. If there is a choice, obviously we must choose judgment and values over merely being able to make out a written word. But I entirely agree that if you can have both together, it is very much better, because that opens out the windows to the thoughts of others, to other values; it gives us the opportunity to know not only the accumulated knowledge of the past but the new knowledge which is being gained so fast all over the world. But here in India, although we are still very backward in literacy, I think our people have retained sound common sense; they have retained a shrewd assessment of their own difficulties, conditions and the problems of their local situation and their local area. And these are the qualities which come to surface when they have to make a decision — a political decision.

It is the people's will freely and forcefully expressed that accounts for the large degree of responsiveness in the political system and the steady removal of old prejudices and unearned privileges. It is not as if distortions have not arisen. But what is equally remarkable is the prompt endeavour at self-correction. Yet, somehow, when we read books by most of our political scientists, the writings in newspapers and periodicals, much of this excitement is missing. One gets an impression — if you will forgive the term — of unredeemed sordidness. One can understand criticism. In fact, I think it is very necessary in politics, as in all spheres of activity, and it is the duty of the scientists to weigh and evaluate. Political analysts who write on current history in Europe or America are also unsparing in their criticism of personalities, of decisions and trends, but they also manage to convey the power of forces and the fascination of the whole drama.

I have sometimes felt that not only our newspapermen but even our academic scholars fail to see the whole picture. Our system of university education and research seems to be such that we have specialists who excavate a small area without having a broad familiarity with the whole field.

A recent incident was brought to my notice of a selection for a post which required a good acquaintance with modern Indian history and had specially to do with the editing of Jawaharlal Nehru's papers, in which more than half of the candidates had not even bothered to read his *Autobiography* or *Discovery*. Apart from showing personal carelessness, this incident also points to the defect in the system of political research. Most of these people who applied of course had degrees in Political Science.

So, Mr Vice-Chancellor, when we speak about the need for change of education and the falling standards, we are not criticizing the

functioning of a university or all the universities. What we are saying is that the education as it prevails today is not meeting the challenge of life as it is evolving. This is not merely in our country. I think it is so in most countries in the world. Like us, they are battling and struggling with this problem. Some have made a little breakthrough in isolated areas but there is no doubt that education as a whole has not kept pace with the discoveries and the great forces that are at work all over the world, and if we cannot give that opportunity to our young men and women, we shall not be able to go ahead and progress in the manner which we had dreamed and planned.

Another defect which comes to mind in our books on politics is the excessive use — and I think that this is something which is very important also to the thinking of intellectuals in India — of vocabulary and co-ordinates which may be valid for Western societies but are not relevant to our own conditions. In the nineteenth-century Europe, when the dazzle of the Industrial Revolution was still new, the vogue arose of interpreting political systems and movements in mechanistic terms. Instead of the old metaphor about steering the ship of State, we have new metaphors of economic take-off, and so on. But the style of thinking is the same old style. After Darwin expounded his theories of evolution, political scientists constructed theories of social Darwinism and this tendency has continued to our day. Most of these attempts to construct political laws on the analogy of the laws of natural sciences appear somewhat naive to me. Our own political writers have sometimes gone wrong in their forecasts and prophecies mainly because they are content to employ these derivative tools of understanding without undertaking a deeper study of the source of our own tradition and strength and the power of our own conditioning during the formative period of our national struggle and the rediscovery of our identity.

It would be wrong to think that systems work on their own. By speaking of them as self-propelling mechanisms we can commit the fallacy to which I referred earlier. It is men who run systems. When societies are highly organized, leadership might become a mere matter of management. But in our country, leadership has more than an executive role. It has to concern itself more dynamically with ideas and values and with educating the public. The people also expect a great deal more from leadership in India than they do in other countries. Nowhere are the lives of persons in politics more open to public scrutiny than in India and this again is due to the high ethical tradition that we have inherited from the days of our national struggle which was more an endeavour to build a new kind of liberated India than merely a fight for political independence.

It is true that not all practitioners of politics pass the test, but societies are evaluated by the quality of their aspiration as well as by the capacity

of its more prominent individuals. When people speak of corruption, there is a tendency to imagine that bribery was unknown in British times. I concede that there were administrators of high rectitude then as there are now. But the entire old system, whether it was colonial rule or princely rule, was thoroughly corrupt; it does not require great acquaintance with history to know what the old empire-builders did and what they are doing today in the colonial systems which still exist. Academic scholars should help other people to have the complete picture and enable them to use knowledge as a means to improve the state of affairs and to build a better future. Merely by running down the present, we shall not be able to generate the will to correct and improve.

Many instances come to mind to illustrate what I have said about judging a thing in the correct context. You have referred, Sir, to our Congress session. I saw in this morning's paper that it has been referred to as a "fair". Why is it called a fair? Because vast numbers of people come from all over the country. Why do they come? They do not come for enjoyment. They come for discussions; they come to meet each other. And I can tell you that any political party in the world would give anything it could to have such a "fair" in their countries and they have said so. In every country I have visited, they ask me: "How do you manage to have this sort of session?" But to some of our people it is a matter for derision, for fun. They cannot appreciate what moves a party, what moves an entire people, and if you cannot appreciate it, then you are not part of the people. Then you are somewhere in your ivory towers; you have no contact with what is happening, and therefore you will never be able to judge the situation.

It is an old question whether history has a purpose and whether science has a purpose. Their purpose is to enlarge knowledge, and the purpose of knowledge is to increase the will and the capacity to act — to act on behalf of justice and human welfare. To my mind, political science is not a fragmentary science but a total one. It cannot be content with the study of political systems and theories. It involves an understanding of psychology and ethics, of sociological and economic forces, of law and the phenomenal development of technology. In all countries of the world, the people are becoming politically active. Vast sections of the population who had been content to accept the rules laid down for them by others are today astir and insisting on full participation in the political process.

I began the speech by saying that India is passing through a fascinating period. Perhaps humanity as a whole is passing through an extraordinarily important phase which is as full of dangers as of possibilities. The insights of political science can help us to avoid some of the dangers and realize some of the possibilities. But as has been said, if you see no gods, it is because you harbour none. Or to give a more plebeian, matter-of-fact, down-to-earth example, something that I read

a couple of days ago on the old saying that no man is a hero to his valet. Somebody's comment on that is: "Not because the man is not a hero, but because the valet is a valet."

So let us try and look at the problems of this country and other countries from the appropriate angles. You cannot judge what is happening in India from a British, an American, a French, Japanese or any other angle. You have to understand what India has been, what India is, what makes the Indian what he is, what gives this feeling of Indianness. Time and again why should it be asked — Will democracy last in India? Will unity be maintained? I do not think any of these questions occur to the average Indian. He takes these things for granted. He knows we have this Indianness. And the last year has amply proved, if proof were necessary, that any crisis, whether it is a natural calamity, whether it is aggression, has evoked this tremendous unity, this desire to co-operate, to help one another, to make the country strong. Of course, work in peace-time is not so glamorous or spectacular and, therefore, there is a retreat, rather, there is a covering over of that overwhelming unity, and many of the daily differences, quarrels and so on have an opportunity to raise their heads. But this does not change the fundamental character of the country and the people.

Similarly, when we speak of democracy, we are always comparing it to how they function in America or other countries. What do we care how they function there? We are making our democracy here. Our democracy has to answer the questions of the Indian people. We do not want it to be compared with any other country and it will never work if we do. We do not know if their democracy is good for them in the way they work it. But certainly for us to try and model our system on systems which have obtained or are obtaining today in other countries makes no sense to me at all. Is democracy to be what it was when the word first came into being in Greece or somewhere? What stage do you take it to? Are you going to change it as the West changes? Whatever we want to do here in India has to be done in the context of our conditions and we have to understand that our conditions are not of now. They are an outcome of thousands of years of history. While we want to change much in the old, nobody can entirely wipe out history, either one's personal history or a country's history, or the many things that have gone to form a society, its values, its thinking, even its fears.

So we have to see Indian problems and Indian developments in this context. Only then can we get a true picture and the whole picture. Obviously not all of it is a good picture. There are many fine achievements, there are many fine qualities, but there are also many faults and weaknesses. But we cannot deal with the faults, the weaknesses and the shortcomings unless we are aware also of the other side of the coin, of the achievements and all that is of value.

Indian philosophy has given us a direction. Our politics is not divorced from Indian philosophy or Indian tradition. It is not divorced from the art of India, the music of India. All these together are what makes our country and to understand it you have to have some understanding of all these aspects. My father spent his lifetime trying to understand India and finally he wrote a book, *The Discovery of India*, but he said at the end of it that he had unveiled only a very small part of India as it was. The quest is endless. So, it is only in that spirit of trying to understand that I think political science can have any meaning to the student of today, the student who wants not only to think and to analyse, but to use his analysis and his thought for action, for participating in the great adventure of building a new India.

Inaugural address to the thirty-third session of the Indian Political Science Conference, Calcutta, December 27, 1972.

This gathering has been convened by an organization concerned with the Press. All of you have, I hope, seen that the press in India is not only alive and well, but kicking hard. Occasionally, I receive representations from the International Press Institute and the Press Foundation of Asia about threats to the freedom of the press in India. We have no intention whatever of abridging the freedom to gather and to publish news and express views. This freedom is an essential part of our entire way of functioning. In a free India a fettered press is unthinkable. For historical reasons, freedom in many systems has come to mean freedom more for the big, the strong and the propertied than for the smaller man. This tendency has received support from conservative judicial pronouncements. In our own country, freedom of the press is being used to further property interests and the protection of the courts is sought. For our part, we do recognize the right of a newspaper to champion any cause. But we feel that it would be useful, even in these days of advertisement dominance, to maintain a distinction between the editorial room and the business office. The proposals to diffuse economic concentration in the industry which we are discussing will not by any means limit an editor's freedom to criticize Government. I do not think there is any editor in the country who is afraid of me, though some do their best to try and irritate me — with little success, I might add.

However, are newspapermen themselves not limiting the scope of their calling? They have been content to speak only to the elite and are not in touch with the vast masses of our country whom they largely ignore. That is why the press as a whole has often been wide of the mark in its assessment of the people's feelings and in its forecasts of the shape of things to come. In India where literacy is not very widespread but political consciousness and political judgment are highly evolved there must be new methods of reaching people and arguing with them, persuading them and recording their views. There are so many worth while causes. This is the challenge before the press of India.

Excerpts from address to the One Asia Assembly, New Delhi, February 6, 1973.

Planning for Socialism

Planning is the vital instrument we have adopted to realize the social objectives enshrined in our Constitution. Through the Five Year Plans we have already achieved a significant increase in the national income in the past eighteen years and laid the foundations of technological advance. The Plan is fast modernizing our agriculture and strengthening and diversifying our industry. Above all, it has reinforced national unity and purpose.

The attack on our territory in 1962 and again in 1965 forced us to modify the pattern of national expenditure. Before we could reconcile the competing claims of development and defence, drought struck us. Foreign credits became uncertain. Recession followed. All these seriously restricted our freedom of choice. We had to divert our energies to fight drought and near famine and their aftermath. For some time, long-term planning had to be virtually suspended. But we succeeded in turning adversity to good use. We concentrated on import substitution which further enlarged our industrial base. This along with the need for more foreign exchange put us on the path of a more fruitful export drive. We maintained our investment in development work, especially in intensive agricultural programmes.

A new period has now opened. There is a welcome upsurge in the economy, and the increases in agricultural production have brought us nearer to self-sufficiency in foodgrains. But, inevitably, there are other problems, and a fresh challenge to face. Rural disparities have increased, partly owing to the very efforts we have made to move rapidly towards self-sufficiency in food, and partly owing to a certain tardiness in the matter of implementing the land reforms. Although the industrial recession has waned, new industries are not coming up fast enough and unemployment, especially of technically trained persons, continues to be acute. We have a larger and, understandably enough, a more articulate population.

Planning is the method to which we are committed for meeting such challenges. We have carried out three Five Year Plans. Each Five Year Plan has addressed itself specially to problems which have emerged either because of new political and economic developments in the country and in the world, or as a consequence of progress already achieved. The priorities and the emphasis have necessarily changed and have had to be adjusted from Plan to Plan, but we have always kept in view our long-term objectives.

The Fourth Plan represents a conscious, internally consistent and carefully thought out programme for the most efficient exploitation of our resources possible in existing conditions. The basic aim is to raise the standard of living of the people, especially of the less privileged sections of society. Our planning should result not only in an integrated process of increased production, but rational distribution of the added wealth. The overriding inspiration must be a burning sense of social justice. While

increased production is of the utmost importance, it is equally important to remove, or reduce, and prevent the concentration of wealth and economic power. The benefits of development should accrue in increasing measure to the common man and the weaker sections of society, so that the forces of production can be fully unleashed. A sense of involvement, of participation by the people as a whole, is vital for the success of any plan of rapid economic growth. This can only be evoked by securing social justice, by reducing disparities of income and wealth, and by redressing regional imbalances. A reorientation of our socio-economic institutions in this spirit is, accordingly, a first necessity.

One year of this Plan has already gone by. Between the Draft Plan and the present document, certain important changes have been made. The projected investment in the public sector has been stepped up so as to enable us to undertake a larger and bolder agenda of work. New schemes have been added to help the small farmer throughout the country, especially in the unirrigated areas. The emphasis is squarely on areas that have hitherto suffered from neglect. Transport and housing problems in urban regions will receive more attention. A small but significant beginning is also being made with special programmes for children.

The Fourth Plan thus provides a necessary corrective to the earlier trend which helped particularly the stronger sections in agriculture as well as in industry to enable them rapidly to enlarge and diversify the production base. In the long run, the full potential of growth cannot be realized unless the energies of all our people are put to profitable use. The emphasis on spreading the impetus and benefits of economic growth to the weaker sections is thus necessary in the interest of equality as well as growth. The Plan will now assist the less prosperous sections of our farming population to improve their position and make a yet bigger contribution to the national economy. Greater industrial activity and the modernization of agriculture such as is proposed through the wider use of electric power and the adoption of intensive methods of cultivation in both irrigated and dry areas would mean that a larger proportion of young people seeking jobs could find employment nearer home. At the same time, there are some new schemes, for example, for a network of service centres in the rural areas, which will open out opportunities for young entrepreneurs.

The nationalization of the fourteen big banks is evidence of our determination to bring a greater volume of resources within the area of social decision. It has effected a major change in our economic structure. It enables us to pay more attention to the "small man's" needs, and it restricts the scope for the monopolistic operations of the privileged few. Among other areas where social considerations have still to make a comparable impact are the enforcement of land laws, the management of public sector enterprises, and the toning up of the administration as a whole.

There can be no doubt that the responsibilities devolving upon the public sector — without diminishing those of the private sector, in our mixed economy — will grow in range and volume. Socialism involves a reordering of society on a rational and equitable basis and this can only be achieved by assigning an expanding role to the public sector. Following the reorganization of credit policies resulting from the nationalization of major banks, the public sector can be expected more and more to occupy the commanding heights of the economy. It alone would be in a position to undertake investments of the requisite magnitude in such industries of vital importance to us as steel, machinery, machine tools, power generation, ship-building, petrochemicals, fuels and drugs. Naturally, the administration of public enterprises poses some problems of its own (here as in other countries) but they are not insuperable and will be overcome as we gain experience.

In addition to the fight against poverty and economic inequalities, the Plan seeks to enlarge the area of self-reliance in terms of financial resources and technological inputs. Here, too, the public sector has an important part to play. Besides striving to set an example in better management methods and ushering in a new pattern of worker-management relations, the public sector should increasingly base itself on domestic know-how. The public and private sectors have both been too ready to look to foreign collaboration not only for financial but for technological resources. Such collaboration may be unavoidable when new processes have to be introduced, but excessive reliance on it has induced a state of mind which inhibits the development of our own technological skills and managerial talents. We should rely more and more on our own machinery and technical know-how, even though it may entail some initial risks and difficulties. This does not mean that we should be indifferent to the latest developments in technology, especially in the fast-growing sectors. But it would be folly to forget that a nation's strength ultimately consists in what it can do on its own and not in what it can borrow from others.

There has been a noticeable change in recent years in the climate of international economic co-operation. It is now increasingly reaffirmed by responsible sections of public opinion in the lending as well as in the borrowing countries that development assistance should not be regarded as an instrument of foreign or commercial policy but as a means of correcting dangerous imbalances in the world economy. However, "aid" is in reality credits which have to be repaid; and even if such credits are available on terms which are concessional in some respects, they often have features which are not consistent strictly with the objective of development. For some time to come we can benefit by more external credits, especially untied credits on concessional terms. But we have to take note of international realities as they are and reduce our reliance on foreign credits.

The policy of self-reliance does not mean that we should be actually reducing imports from the rest of the world. In fact, as the pace of development quickens, imports of industrial raw materials, intermediates and special components will go up. But we propose to pay for them increasingly through our own earnings from exports. Economic independence, therefore, hinges to a considerable extent on how we fare in export markets; and our export performance in turn would depend on the state of our economy at home and our success in developing a purposive, planned approach to the problem.

The complaint that planning has led to a rise in prices and that planning is, therefore, harmful, is misconceived and unfounded. Consumers with fixed incomes, particularly in urban areas, face hardship when prices rise; but at the other extreme, when prices are reduced or depressed to uneconomic level, producers suffer and employment sags. If development means larger real incomes to ever larger numbers of people, some price increases can hardly be avoided. What we must ensure, however, is stability in respect of the core items of family consumption. An adequate supply of foodgrains and articles of everyday use must be maintained at fairly stable prices. Agricultural scientists who have brought about such notable increases in yields of wheat, and to some extent of millets and rice, have now turned to the task of bringing about similar gains in pulses and cash crops like oilseeds, cotton and sugarcane. In general, the possible impact of development plans on the price situation has been carefully studied, and every effort will be made to keep production and prices in balance.

Planning certainly has its critics, but the fact remains that in modern conditions, and in a developing country like ours, economic planning has become indispensable. Compared to the tasks to be accomplished, the resources of money, trained manpower and administrative and managerial skills are in short supply, and they have to be allocated primarily with a view to the national interest rather than the interest of any private individual or group. This is, after all, what the Plan seeks to do. At the same time, and through such rational allocation, it can lead to an augmentation of the now scarce resources, and thus gradually extend the limits of our economic freedom.

For us in India, planning is a charter of orderly progress. It provides a framework of time and space that binds sectors and regions together and relates each year's effort to the succeeding years, impelling us all constantly to greater co-operative endeavour. By strengthening the economic fabric of the country as a whole and of the different regions, it makes a powerful contribution to our goal of national integration. The Plan gives concrete expression to our national purpose. With its implementation, we shall have advanced yet another stage towards our goal of a prosperous, democratic, modern, socialist society. In

meetings of the National Development Council, I have found that all States, irrespective of the political beliefs their Governments hold, have very similar expectations of the Plan. This is so, because our people as a whole have pinned their hopes on the Plan, and want it to succeed. I am confident that they will not spare themselves in a determined effort to ensure that it does succeed.

Preface to the Fourth Five Year Plan, July 18, 1970

I do not know what I expected when I accepted this invitation, but it was certainly not the kind of uneducated broadside which I have received.

You have talked about democracy and freedom, but you have also shown that you have been victims of certain propaganda put out recently. You have made no effort to find out the broad streams of opinion that are flowing in the country.

You have talked of exhaustion of patience. I ask: The patience of whom, of how many people in the country? What about the patience of the millions of the people who have not got a fair deal? You have talked about Gujarat being impatient. You have talked about fairness to all sections of the people. I would like you to go out with me here in this city of Ahmedabad, not long away from here, and ask the people. Do they agree with this conclusion of yours? Do they think that they have had the justice that you have had?

You have talked about pragmatism. What does that word mean, may I ask you? It means being practical. What does being practical mean? It means facing the realities of any existing situation. What is the situation in India today? Is it the situation where a few millowners can get away with what they have been doing? You have talked of the efficiency of the Central Government and you have asked for help in modernizing your mills. Who is responsible for the profits made? Why have these mills not been modernized? I would like to know. The sugar industry is in the private sector. Is it an efficiently managed industry? What is happening to it all over the country? I may not be a financial wizard. In fact, I know very little about finance. But I do have the eyes to see what is happening in my country and I do have the ears to hear the voices of my people.

Why do we have disturbances? It is not because there are too few policemen. You have disturbances when there is obvious inequality in society. You have disturbances when people feel that they are not getting a fair deal. It is not only in India that there is a law and order problem. I ask you to look at the United States of America. I ask you to look at many of these advanced countries where there is no shortage of money, no shortage of employment, no shortage of the worldly goods. I can assure you that women can walk in far greater peace in the streets of Calcutta than they can in many of the cities of these advanced countries.

Before you speak please verify your facts. What is the help given to Gujarat? Have you taken the trouble to look at those figures, all of you very distinguished gentlemen here? I have not brought the books here but I can tell you that Gujarat has received more help than many States in India. (Shouts of "No, No, No.") It is no use your saying yes or no. We will send you the figures. Some figures I have here. I do not obviously have an exhaustive list. You have mentioned one or two specific projects. If you think by having a distinguished gathering you can bully me into saying "yes" today, you cannot. Each project will

be considered on its merit and merit is not whether a particular firm or a particular house gets it but merit is whether it helps the country to stand on its feet. We do need fertilizers. We are doing everything possible to get fertilizers but we cannot afford to get the fertilizers at a cost of selling out to foreign concerns. And while I am here I am not going to allow it, no matter what the pressure is. There is no doubt about it. If you want to shout, believe me you cannot outshout me. I have far more experience in this than you have. Each matter will be decided when it comes up. As far as the Tata project is concerned, the scheme has not come before the Government. If and when it comes it will be given due consideration as all such schemes are. We have rushed through many things in the past and we are suffering for it today.

Take the question of oil. If you like I can refer you gentlemen to many books written in this respect, not by Indians, not by high idealistic people, but people who have been dealing with oil. What has happened in Biafra? What has happened in other places? It is not a joke to hand over your country to a foreign oil concern. Every step has to be watched and, maybe, if we lose a few years, it is certainly better than losing our independence. We do not think independence is merely having our own Government. We feel independence means that we make our own decisions. They may be wrong decisions, but they must be our decisions, Indian decisions, keeping in view the future of India and not of helping some concern or the other.

We are acutely aware of the problem of the textile industry. We have recognized the need for financial support for purposes of modernization and perhaps you know that a working group on the textile industry was appointed by the Planning Commission, and it went into its problems. At a meeting recently it was decided that funds should be made available from the financing agencies. We are now entering into a round of discussions with the financial institutions in order to see how their lending terms can be liberalized for these purposes. You have put forward many other questions — the question of excise duty, of the Dharoi Project in which the Rajasthan Government is also concerned. And naturally we cannot expect them to sacrifice their share. This is a matter in which the Minister of Irrigation and Power is meeting with both the Chief Ministers to resolve their disagreement.

As far as supply of oil to the electricity undertaking is concerned, perhaps you know that the Gujarat Government contracted an agreement which they have subsequently repudiated and prolonged negotiations are going on in that regard.

You have spoken about what has happened in Bangalore and some of the decisions which we have taken in Bombay. You have forgotten that those decisions were not really taken in Bombay. They were taken by the Congress very soon after the General Elections of 1967. They were

discussed for days on end and were unanimously agreed upon by the Working Committee, by the subsequent AICC. They did not take place either in Bangalore or later, but very much earlier. All we did in Bangalore was to try and give a new broad direction. I have no doubt that this country cannot go ahead unless it goes along that broad direction.

I do not think that pragmatism can be divorced from idealism. All countries must base their progress on some kind of principles. There can be no future if you do not do that. Wherever one is merely taking a short-term view, it brings struggle. You see it here in your own work. There was no need for the textile industry to face this crisis had you seen what would come in future. You did not think of the future. You thought that certain short-term things were good enough. We do not have to look at our country in that way. We do look ahead not just five or ten years but what sort of country we want to build. And today it is not a question of choice. If you think it is, then you are very gravely mistaken. It is not a question of what is happening in India alone but of the wind of change that is blowing all over the world.

We have heard much of words like discipline, words like lack of patience. Perhaps you would call it indiscipline when the old labour, which was so exploited in England, revolted when little children went down the mine and lost their eyesight. Maybe, you would call it indiscipline. I would not. I would say that it was a fight for their right and that is why it succeeded all over the world. Indiscipline is where for the sake of the few, the many have to curb themselves, the many have to be suppressed. In modern life, in no country in the world, however capitalist, however conservative, can this meaning hold good today, and it does not hold good. You cannot keep down the Negroes in America, no matter how indisciplined you call them. You cannot keep down the students in America, no matter how indisciplined you call them. This is how the world is changing. Either you change with it or the world passes you by. You cannot prevent a change.

I have referred somewhere to the story of King Canute. Perhaps you have all heard about it. He was told that he could stop the waves of the sea and he tried to do it. But he could not. The world and India today is on the move and it is not a new movement. The movement started with that name which you have taken at this place — Mahatma Gandhi. I wonder if you have ever really read what Mahatma Gandhi had written about socialism. His socialism, I can tell you, was far more extreme than anything I have in view because he said that when you take over something you should not give any compensation whatsoever. He said that it was the people's property. The business people and the industrialists held them only in trust for the people and if the people should feel the need for taking them over, no compensation should be paid. It would be a sin to give. These are his words, not

mine. We are not following that path. We are trying to give what even I personally consider unreasonable compensation, not unreasonable in the sense that it is too little but in the sense that it is too much sometimes. We have taken over industries, put them on their feet and handed them back. In no country in the world has this happened. And how has Indian business prospered? It is because after Independence we wanted to help Indian business. Today you are against the controls, but you have derived the maximum benefit from these controls because you have been able to have a monopoly field. It is for that that we are suffering today because we helped you in these things. Why do you think that we are suffering? Why are the people standing against us? It is not for anything we have done. It is because they think that we have helped you in the manner which has been prejudicial to the interest of the vast majority of the people.

You have talked of economic growth. In a country with poverty on the scale we have in India, can you have economic growth without social justice? Can economic growth survive? Only up to a certain extent. Why have we got a Communist Government in Bengal? And today if we remove this Government, will it not be re-elected? Why is it so? These are the many questions which you have to ask yourselves.

I am not going into the details of the help given to Gujarat. Within two or three days, I am willing to send all the details to both these associations and they can let you have them. But if you want to start this kind of thing about Centre being unfair to Gujarat, I am afraid it is not going to help you at all because one cannot take you seriously if you are going to make remarks like this which have no basis whatsoever. To some extent, the Centre has been unfair to every State. If you sit down with the UP Government they will show hundred if not one thousand cases where we have been less fair to UP than to Gujarat. Perhaps there are one or two which may have had more. So this is a thing that, I can only imagine, is being said for propaganda purposes.

You have talked of stability. But who has used the word "toppling"? Not I. Never in these four years. Not with regard to any single Government. But your Government here or the people associated with it have used that word with regard to the Central Government. Is that going to bring stability to India? I am only asking you questions. I hope you have the answers. I would only like to say that the Central Government is not the Gujarat Government. Maybe, you can bully the Gujarat Government. You cannot bully the Central Government. We stand for something in this country and we have the people with us — make no mistake about that at all — not only the people of the rest of the country but people of Gujarat as well. Today, you have to go along this stream.

We do not want to have controls for the sake of controls. Controls will come only where we feel that something is being misused and that it is

harming the people. I do not believe either like the Communists or like the Jana Sangh or like the Swatantra party that some people are the people and other people are not. The Swatantra party thinks that only business people and other such people are the people and the poor are not. The Communist party thinks the opposite, that only some poor people are the people and the other sections are not. I think all these are the people of India and if we want to have peaceful advance and progress we must watch the interests of all these people. But those who have had it much better than the others, they have to sacrifice now. We are not asking them to sacrifice and take away everything as has been done in many countries, and not only the communist countries. We are just asking you to sacrifice some of your profit. We are not taking away what you own. If you think that even this is too much, then only the people can judge. I cannot judge that. It would be for the people to decide whether this sort of thing should be tolerated with patience. We have seen in many parts of India that they are not.

Peaceful development can come and will come only when the larger interests of India are kept in view. Today if we buy something from outside it is more efficient. We can produce more immediately; but ten years hence we find that we are where we were. We have more goods but still we are where we were. That is not progress. In my view, progress is that even if we have to sacrifice, even if we have to wear fewer clothes, eat less food, have few houses, if in ten years we are in a better position to do things on our own, then that is progress. And I think that Indian business must help in this.

You have mentioned Dhuvran. Now merely to do a favour to Gujarat I went against the established policy because they said that if they were to get the boilers, their work would go faster. It was against the wishes of the Cabinet. It was against my own better judgment, I must confide in you here. But because Gujarat said that, "No, you are stopping our things," I said, "All right, let us import them, even though it may harm us in some ways." What has happened? They are not being used. They did not use those imported boilers. Had we had our own they would have been ready in good time.

So, I would request you to go into all these matters which you have raised, point by point, and try to get the fullest information about them and then if you want to bring them up again I shall be ready. But as it is, I am sorry to say that neither of these documents is well informed as to the true state of affairs either in our country or in our industry.

As I said, there is a great deal of need for efficiency in the public sector, there is a great deal of need to expedite decisions at the Centre. I might tell you that people sometimes compare us with Japan. My experience is that it does not take less time to reach a decision by the Government of Japan. I have personal experience of talks and I have

heard from the other Governments of the same. Maybe, all Governments have these processes through which they go; maybe, we being much bigger are perhaps more involved in red-tape; but to have the constant kind of confrontation that business and industry in India tries to have with the Government whether with the public sector or whether with the way Central Government goes, I can tell you this is not going to help in creating better relations or getting speedier decisions. You all know in your business dealings that if you want to have co-operation with another firm and if you go and tell them that you are so bad and so on and so forth, would you expect quicker co-operation? That is exactly what you are trying to do with the Government of India. As I said before, these things simply will not work. You have to take a pragmatic, practical, realistic view not only of the Government of India but of all this vast country.

You have said slogans do not work. May I ask who uses slogans the most? It is business. It is advertising. It is trying to create an acquisitive society in the country which does not need such a society, trying to create needs and demands for goods, which we can well do without, just because this is happening in other countries outside, and because it brings greater profits there.

So, it is not practical to say that if business makes greater profits today that is the practical way of looking at things. There is only one practical way of looking at things and that is, how we get more and more of the Indian people to co-operate in the task of building India. And they can do that only if they have a sense of fairplay and justice towards them.

So, if I have said any harsh word I am sorry because I did not mean to, although I must say both your memoranda were extremely provocative. But I would only say that I am not interested in blaming anybody. I have had in these four years to manage and to work with people of very different ideologies and opinions. At every stage people have thought that the unity of India would not keep; democracy of India would not keep; yet we have survived all those crises. We have survived a drought which nobody in the world thought we could survive. And it should not cause surprise just because we have some turbulence. It is more surprising that in spite of grave inequalities, in spite of grave injustice to the poor people, they are still patient, they still have hopes, they still trust us. This is what is surprising today. If we want to maintain this faith and hope and if we go ahead with programmes which convince them, that will bring a change. We do not think that a change will come by magic. Unless we can show some change, they will not be with us.

Address to meeting of the Gujarat Chamber of Commerce and Millowners' Association, Ahmedabad, January 24, 1970.

Constitution and the Call of Change

I

I am intervening in this debate because I feel deeply and sincerely that this is of special moment. In his otherwise brilliant speech, Shri Siddhartha Shankar Ray had a dig at non-lawyers. Far be it from me to scoff at lawyers when there are so many distinguished ones in the House.

The legal profession has given some of the best minds and some of the greatest patriots to our country. I myself started life in very legal surroundings. My grandfather, himself a lawyer of repute, attracted many legal luminaries to our home. But, over the years, one heard fewer arguments of jurisprudence and more and more about the problems of the people, the reality of the situation in which they found themselves, which was very far from the law as seen by lawyers.

Shri K. Manoharan and I have at least one thing in common, which is that neither of us is a lawyer. But I should like to answer him on one point, which does not strictly come into this debate but which he mentioned, namely, the question of Centre-State relations. He used the phrase "every State must be an equal partner." I should like to assure him that every State is an equal partner. Whatever inequality there exists today is due to many reasons; but it is not due to the Centre or the attitude which the Centre takes. In the eyes of the Central Government every State is equal and the Centre does its very best to give fair treatment to every single State, and we shall continue to do so. Naturally, we are always open to suggestions, and we always discuss matters about which a State has any grievance; and this discussion is a continuing one. There is hardly a day when we do not have a visit from a Chief Minister or some Ministers or officials from one State or another over some real or not-so-real grievance.

During this debate, it was interesting and educative to listen to our constitutional experts. But as a non-constitutional-expert, as a non-lawyer, I must say that it seems to me that the question at issue is not merely a legal or a constitutional one. The constitutional amendments which we have introduced embody and reflect the urges of our people. For some time, there has been a deliberate inflation of fears which to me seem to be unreal. A controversy has been generated as regards the supremacy of Parliament against the supremacy of the Constitution, as if these two were distinct concepts mutually exclusive and even perhaps antagonistic. Those who describe the issue in this manner conveniently forget that our Constitution was drafted on the fundamental assumption that our people owed unalterable allegiance to the principles of democracy. This faith in our people permeates our Constitution.

Several Hon. Members have spoken of a confrontation between Parliament and the judiciary. There need not be a confrontation, and I think that to create an atmosphere of confrontation does not do us much good. I do not think that there is any real confrontation either, because each institution has its assigned place and role. We all know that there

can be no third chamber and that no Constitution can be frozen into a static mould.

What do we see when we look at the world around us? It would not take us long to discover that many an institution has collapsed, many a constitution has been scrapped because it ceased to be an effective one for orderly change. That our Constitution and our democratic institutions have survived when all around us there is a climate of tension and violence is a tribute to the faith of our people in democratic ideals and also to the flexibility and responsiveness of our Constitution and our political institutions to the urges of our people.

While introducing this Bill, my colleague Shri H.R. Gokhale spoke of the arguments of those who opposed this Bill as being based on fear and nervousness, not on fact. I should like to dispel that fear and nervousness in the minds of our minorities in so far as their rights are concerned. I believe that protection to them can be guaranteed only by this Parliament. Mere constitutional devices cannot give this guarantee. History is replete with examples of constitutions being overthrown or thwarted. Therefore, a wider and deeper democracy, a wider and deeper commitment to secularism is a more durable guarantee of the rights of the minorities. My endeavour has been to educate the public and strengthen the people so that they themselves will not permit any curtailment of their rights. The protection of the rights of the minorities can be ensured only when the majority itself is convinced that its well-being and progress are linked with a sense of security amongst the minority communities. In the ultimate analysis, it is only a sensitive and strong public opinion which can give real protection to the minorities.

The major premise of democracy is the will of the people as expressed through Parliament. As Prof. Dandavate said in his excellent speech, if our democracy goes berserk and becomes an instrument of oppression, our democracy would have failed and something else would have taken its place. If such turbulence were to take place in our country, holding the Constitution against the flood waters of right reaction or of violent revolution would not stem the tide.

Shri Shyamnandan Mishra used a very meaningful phrase: "If liberty dies in the hearts of men." The same thing has been said in the Bible: "Ye are the salt of the earth. But if the salt has lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted?" So the strength can only be in the people. If we have any strength, we got it from the people and it is up to them to see that we do our duty by them and fulfil our promises to them.

Shri H.M. Patel spoke of reasonableness *versus* radicalism. If you look at the circumstances of life as it is in India, I see no reason in a denial of radical change. Whatever is made rigid ceases to be living and organic and may become less and less reflective of the needs of a vital and dynamic people.

So what are the choices before us? Can we cling to the *status quo*? There is a crisis in the social order not only in India but in every country of the world and the choice in every country is whether changes can come about peacefully or whether they must be driven to violent means.

A little while ago, when one of our colleagues spoke, I heard several members from the Opposition saying, "He is twisting the meaning." I think all those who have read newspapers in the last month and all those who have followed the election campaigns will know where the twisting has taken place, how everything we have said has been twisted and misconstrued. One of the words which has lent itself to this misinterpretation is 'commitment'. It is a good word and no matter what anybody says about it we believe in commitment and we shall continue to believe in commitment. I think in today's world, this is a word which has great significance for the future.

What are our commitments? We are deeply committed to change the condition of the lives of millions of our people, the vast majority of whom live in great poverty. When we talk of the most urgent problems in the country, which are the removal of poverty and the lessening of disparity, our slogans have been made the butt of jokes and of ridicule. Any subject, any question, any debate has evoked the taunt, "What about *garibi hatao*?" Surely, poverty is too agonizing a state to be joked about except by those who have no idea of what it is and have no real sympathy with those who live in the state of poverty. If you want to look at the question seriously and sincerely, we know that the poverty of ages cannot be wiped out in a few weeks, a few months or even a few years. Anybody who pretends that he can do so is obviously trying to mislead the people.

We have never said that we can achieve this by a miracle; we have never said that it can be done by magic. We have always said that certain steps have to be taken, deliberate, determined steps, and by those steps we can remove, we will remove, the poverty of this country.

But this also requires a change in social outlook. There is talk of compensation. I heard Shri Piloo Mody say something about *chori*. He knows that this is a subject about which I feel very strongly and I would like to put my views before the House, as I have put them on previous occasions. Compensation for what? When we talk of compensation, is it compensation for land, compensation for a palace or for big house? I should like to ask Hon. Members, what about compensation for injustice? What about compensation for forced labour, for the eviction of landless people, for land unfairly grabbed? What happens when a mill is closed, its machinery run down, its reserves eaten away, even provident funds diverted to private purpose, a small man's business is closed and its partners driven to the street, and other such iniquities of the capitalist system?

My colleague, Shri Mohan Kumaramangalam, in his scintillating speech, said something about accumulated wealth. All the wealth is not accumulated. Many of us know that those who are today demanding compensation did not always own their property.

I remember especially a tribe. There is a small group of people in the State of Bihar — they are called Tana Bhagats. They are very small in number, simple and sincere, and they were passionately devoted to freedom and they were among the first who came forward in the freedom struggle. The British took away their land and today we cannot give them that land. The people who were given that land by the British regard it as their own property and they will demand compensation. Is this the sort of compensation that we should give? It is the Tana Bhagats who should get compensation for the land taken away from them. There are so many cases like this.

We believe that the necessary social, political and economic processes which are involved in changing poverty must be carried out within a democratic framework. The vested interests have, as usual, raised a hue and cry, either through lack of understanding or deliberate mischief. As I said earlier they have misinterpreted many of the words which we use. I talked earlier of commitment. What I mean is that we are committed to the upholding of the freedom of speech, of assembly, of worship of every citizen of this vast and varied land. Our commitment to secular democracy is non-negotiable. There is nothing negative in our approach. I am not against a class or a section of society. I am for the Indian people. I know that they cannot be strong while poverty is deep and widespread. I know that they cannot be united while there are disparities and while all sections, including the minorities, do not have a full sense of security and a full sense of participation in the development of the country. Democracy is not worth much if it does not involve all the people.

I can assure this House and the country that our commitment to upholding in every possible way the fundamental rights of our citizens remains absolute. Even when we speak of imposing certain restrictions on property rights, our intention is not to abolish property. Only where property rights are in conflict with public purpose, the public purpose must hold sway. Our people understand this. In the last elections every possible attempt was made to scare the people and to mislead them into believing that all property would straightway be taken away. Those who indulged in such propaganda miscalculated and underestimated the wisdom of our people, a wisdom based not on formal education but on personal experience.

The measures which we have taken and are taking are milestones in the progress of our democracy and are intimately related to the well-being and progress of millions of our people. They have come to be regarded by

the people as marking a new stage in their struggle to build a more egalitarian, more humane, more just society. As their elected representatives, it is our duty to reflect their urges. It is in that spirit that I commend to you the acceptance of this Bill. By responding to the call of change and the call of the future we shall strengthen the faith of our people in our democratic institutions and in the supremacy of this Parliament which is an expression of their will.

During this debate, there have been many quotations, most of them from the United States. In the Oxford History of the American people, I came across an extract from the writings of William Channing, which I should like to share with you. I quote:

“There are seasons, in human affairs, of inward and outward revolution, when new depths seem to be broken up in the soul, when new wants are unfolded in multitudes, and a new and undefined good is thirsted for. There are periods when the principles of experience need to be modified, when hope and trust and instinct claim a share with prudence in the guidance of affairs.”

Speech during debate on the Constitution (Twenty-fourth Amendment) Bill,
Lok Sabha, August 4, 1971.

Parliament is the repository of the hopes and wishes of our people. It is the fountainhead of change and of justice. If Parliament is rendered unable to bring about change or to ensure social justice, then change will bypass Parliament. I have full respect for the Judiciary but I must say that Parliament is the expression and guardian of the democratic will.

Earlier also amendments to the Constitution became necessary because the courts have made it difficult for Parliament to implement programmes of social justice. The present set of amendments have also become necessary for the same reason.

Earlier I spoke about other people who were there at the time of making of the Constitution and at that time this is what my father said about compensation in the Constituent Assembly while the Constitution was still being drafted. I quote:

“Eminent lawyers have told us that on a proper construction of this clause, normally speaking, the judiciary should not and does not come in. Parliament fixes either the compensation itself or the principles governing that compensation and they should not be challenged except for one reason, where it is thought that there has been a gross abuse of the law, where in fact there has been a fraud on the Constitution. Naturally, the judiciary comes in to see if there has been a fraud on the Constitution or not. But normally speaking, one presumes that any Parliament representing the entire community of the nation will certainly not commit a fraud on its own Constitution and will be very much concerned with doing justice to the individual as well as the community.”

All citizens are equal before the law. But can we honestly say that our law, as it has developed and as it has been interpreted, is giving that equality in actual practice?

Much has been said about market value. Now, what is market value? And how does it appreciate? The price of property goes up because of the investments made by society, because we built roads and we built industry. It is unacceptable to us that a few should skim the cream of social investments, defrauding society as a whole.

I must say that I do not have much respect for market value or the values of the market-place for that matter. The whole idea of private profit at the cost of the common man is repugnant to me, to my party and, I think, to the nation. It is astonishing how those who sincerely at socialism being a foreign concept or import have had no hesitation whatsoever in embracing capitalism with such great ardour.

I think it was Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer, the great jurist, who said that: “Our ancients never regarded the institution of property as an end in itself. Capitalism as it is practised in the West came in the wake of the Industrial Revolution and is alien to the root of our civilization.”

I should like to reiterate that the amendment does not represent a

departure from the basic framework of our Constitution. It is an effort to safeguard the intent of the Constitution. The Constitution-framers did not envisage any unregulated right to private property nor did they want the property rights to come in the way of socio-economic progress.

I think I have dealt with the point made by Shri Krishna Menon. But I should like to repeat it, in case there is any misgiving, because he expressed a concern that we were undermining people's confidence in the judiciary. I should like to emphasize that we do not want to weaken the judiciary. What we are saying is only this: let the judiciary not try to take over the powers of Parliament. I entirely agree with him that an impartial judiciary is indispensable to the rule of law.

The crux of the matter is very simple: for whom are our Constitution and our laws meant — whether they are meant for the few privileged or for the many, poor and weak? The Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles are intended to benefit the poor and the weak, whether they are in the majority or in the minority. It would be a travesty of the Constitution if the Fundamental Rights afford protection to the privileged against the true interests of the poor.

I do not think there is any conflict between Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles. They are supplementary and complementary. If you are afraid that our people are going to lose their faith in the fundamental values of the Constitution, I can only allay your fears by asking you to go and talk to the people. If Parliament misuses its power, I am sure that our people will not tolerate that Parliament for long. In any case, as my colleagues have already explained, any colourable use of the legislative power will always be open to judicial scrutiny.

Sir, I quoted something from my father, but there is the same thing said in different words by Abraham Lincoln, with which I would like to end:

“Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any equal hope in the world?”

Speech during debate on the Constitution (Twenty-fifth Amendment) Bill,
Lok Sabha, December 1, 1971.

The principle underlying the Bill has been argued here before and accepted with overwhelming majority. Fifteen months ago I moved a Bill to abolish princely purses and privileges. It won more than two-thirds vote in the Lok Sabha. In the Rajya Sabha it failed to secure the required special majority by a fraction of a vote. But that was a mere technical failure. The will of the people was not in doubt.

We, therefore, gave effect to it by Presidential Order on September 6. This was taken to the Supreme Court which set aside the Presidential Order on December 15. On that very day, I told the House that the Government stood committed to the abolition of privy purses and privileges through appropriate constitutional means.

This decision was reiterated in our election manifesto and it secured the overwhelming endorsement of the people of the country. So, we have come before the House in fulfilment of a pledge.

Some changes have been made in the Bill as presented to the House this time, keeping in view the observations of the Supreme Court.

This is the third batch of Bills to amend the Constitution. The purpose of all these Bills, as the House knows, is to narrow the disparities in our society. Since freedom we have been setting right the old disparities and social distinctions one by one, and this is yet another step towards the creation of an egalitarian society.

The House is aware that there is a great deal of feeling in the country against inherited special status, against privileges unrelated to function or responsibility, against exemptions and facilities enjoyed without adequate reason. We have adopted a series of measures to remove such vested interests. Absentee landlords have been eliminated. The economic power of the merchant princes is being checked. It is but fair that the feudal princes also be asked to shed their special privileges. I hope that the princes will view this in a historical perspective. A levelling process is at work in our society, a process which is abolishing divisions and class distinctions. Certain forces are irreversible and inexorable. We can choose to ignore them and resist them and be swept aside or we can recognize their reality and attempt to give some direction to them.

I do admit that a large number of princes have acted with foresight and have adjusted themselves to changes, and I should like also to acknowledge the patriotic spirit with which they acted to facilitate the political integration of the country after Independence. Later there were earnest attempts to persuade them voluntarily to abrogate their privileges. The response from some was prompt and encouraging; a few others were not equally responsive. They failed to appreciate the fact that when a moment is not seized, it would not come again. I am not trying to apportion blame. I would have been happy if the problem could have been solved through discussion. We did have some, but there seemed to be such a gap between our thinking and theirs that one could not see any

common meeting ground, and the solution could not be indefinitely postponed.

I should like to say again what I have said earlier, that there is no personal animus against any individual prince or even against the princely order as such. Our quarrel, if one can call it a quarrel, is against a system that no longer has relevance in our society, or for that matter in any society.

A great community of equals is being created in our country, and I would invite the princes and princesses to join this community unencumbered by a sense of past authority.

There was a time when superiority could be measured only by rank or by wealth. But today the scope to show one's worth is very much vaster, in fact, I would say, practically unlimited. I feel that by taking away the privy purses and privileges which I do not think add to a person in any way, we might be depriving the princes of some pomp and luxury, but I think we are giving them the opportunity of being men.

This Bill represents the spirit of history. I commend it to the House and request my Hon. colleague, the Law Minister, to deal further with it in the remaining stages.

Speech in Lok Sabha moving the Constitution (Twenty-sixth Amendment) Bill, December 2, 1971.

Modernizing India through Science

I

Asia today means the disinherited millions, whether they live in desert, jungles or crowded deltas. But Asia did not always suggest want and penury. It is the home of many civilizations and all the great religions. Could these civilizations have grown, if they had not been held together by adequate technological mastery? The early Indians, the early Chinese, the Arabs, to name only a few of the great peoples of this continent, made notable discoveries in medicine and mathematics, in astronomy and architecture, in metallurgy and agronomy. In my own country, a great surgeon who lived 2,200 years ago is said to have used 500 different instruments and accomplished miracles in plastic surgery. On the periphery of this city you can see an iron pillar which has defied the elements for fifteen hundred years and still stands without rust or blemish.

Asia had its fair share of scientific discoveries. But a time came when its people, weighed down by the opulence of their rulers, lost the art of innovation and self-renewal. They fell prey to more vigorous and dynamic societies which possessed newer technologies. It is no wonder that the Industrial Revolution created new empires.

With the passage of time, the innovation cycle began to grow shorter. At first, any new invention might hold the field for several centuries, then perhaps no more than a century, then only a few decades. The Industrial Revolution gave this innovative process a completely new thrust. The pace of change quickened. In contemporary technology, obsolescence is seldom far behind invention.

Technology represents the end-application of science. It calls for a certain social climate and economic potential for speedy and wide-spread application. Modern science and technology often require large investments, especially in highly trained personnel in numerous categories all along the innovation chain.

Asia has regained its freedom. But the gap in technology remains. The extraordinary proliferation in new technology has even widened it. This is one of the sharpest causes of tension in the world, creating situations which are explosive and exploitable.

The developing countries might be backward in science, but they have one advantage. They can sometimes telescope centuries into a few years, take advantage of the experience of others and perhaps even alter the sequence of change. Penicillin is known in our remote villages, and aeroplanes have penetrated some parts of India which did not know motor vehicles, bullock-carts or even wheel barrows!

How does change come about? Often enough it is brought about. Not only by individual entrepreneurs but by the initiative of determined groups, or by whole nations. Social transformation has been induced by rulers and their advisers. In India and a few other countries, the powerful nationalist movements were deeply imbued with the urge for social and economic change.

Asia is at several stages of economic development. Japan presents a spectacle of modern amenities expanding far and wide. Elsewhere there are villages, some in my country, which do not look very different from what they were in the time of the Buddha. Their timelessness attracts people from the advanced nations; for progress, as it has evolved in some of the advanced countries, has so separated man from nature that he is not at peace either with his environment or with himself.

There are many theories on the induction and forward movement of economic development and technological change. Amidst a host of others, I should like to indicate some factors which play an important part in this process.

First, science itself. We are apt to think of it merely as an aid — a means of helping industry or of bringing greater comfort in our lives. But science does not merely better the old. Often enough it upsets the old. It creates something that is new to the world and to human consciousness.

Then there is education, not just for a favoured few but for the masses; unfolding knowledge, opening up new worlds and arousing new desires. But much of today's frustration and restlessness is because our educational systems are too narrow and inflexible to promote the spirit of understanding and tolerance and the vision which is essential to meet the challenges of our changing world.

Visible benefit makes the most immediate impact. When individuals or groups are convinced that the adoption of modern science and technology will increase their income or strength, they jettison old beliefs for new ideas and methods. The Indian farmer has often been accused of resisting change. This charge is somewhat unjust. Did he not in the last century take to growing crops which were strange to our country, such as tobacco and groundnuts? The cultivation of these imported crops was taken up even by small farmers because it meant more and readier money. A similar change is again taking place with the introduction of high-yielding crop varieties. So, while tradition and superstition do block progress, we should not underrate the strong pull of modernity and of self-interest.

Another important factor is the motivation and endeavour of governments. Ambition is the spur. But the experience in Asia is that unless governments themselves are committed to economic growth, such growth is slow to come. The hundred years, before we won our independence, provide an example of how slow such growth can be. Our first railways and textile mills were opened in the 1850s.

Yet until the late 1940s we did not make any locomotives in our country and hardly any textile machinery. What was lacking was governmental will — for the government was alien, and indifferent. Over the same period, Japan came to the forefront of technology because it had its own government and one that was committed to technological

change. National temperaments might have played some role, but history has many instances where nations have undergone changes of personality under the influence of determined leadership. The role of the State in bringing about change is well understood in Asia. Hence national planning has been adopted by many countries.

It is obvious, that there can be no economic development without technological change. My father's life-work was to free India from all the shackles which prevented her full flowering — whether they were political, economic or the dead-weight of outmoded thought. He once said: "What is planning if not the application of science to our problems?"

In India we have all the problems of the developing countries and some of our own. Our size magnifies every problem and every programme. If a pilot experiment in agriculture succeeds, at once there is a clamour to apply it to 550,000 villages. Planning on this scale, in a completely democratic set-up and in conditions where each decision is publicly debated and accepted, adds to complications. With all our progress, we still can claim only a partial transformation of our society. We have today 300,000 engineers — a more than fivefold increase since Independence. Our machine-tool output has risen 100 times. We are now exporters of locomotives, of steel products, of electronic instruments and of radio-isotopes for medicine. In a few months we hope to commission the first of three nuclear power stations at Tarapur near Bombay. But the vast majority of our people still depend on dry twigs or cattle dung for their home-fires.

We live still in many layers, in many ages. Indeed the early stages of development have accentuated disparities. It is only through perseverance and the steady application of science that these disparities can be bridged and the backward areas enabled to catch up with the more advanced ones.

We have regarded science as the means to higher production, to self-reliance, as well as to the reduction of disparities within society. In our view, the country cannot break out of backwardness by establishing basic and consumer industries but must also apply modern technology to agriculture. We have given every encouragement to agricultural research and to the extension of research to the field. We have assigned a high priority to irrigation — large dams as well as small tubewells — so as to free the farmer from entire dependence on the rains. We have promoted rural electrification. Fifteen years ago, only 4,000 cities and villages had electricity. Most of them were urban areas. Today the number is nearly 60,000. Much of this power is used for agriculture. We have developed a nationwide organization to distribute fertilizer and credit. Pumps and tubewells, the intensive use of fertilizer, and the adoption of the new high-yielding varieties which have been developed

by our scientists have just given us the biggest harvest in our history. After two years of terrible drought we are heartened at this breakthrough. Indeed, the drought itself spurred our efforts to apply science and technology to agriculture which is the livelihood of seven out of ten Indians. We are now determined to stabilize the gains we have made.

Tomorrow we celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of our Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. In 1944, long before the first atom bomb exploded over Hiroshima, Dr Homi Bhabha sought financial assistance to set up an Institute for training and fundamental studies in nuclear energy against the day when India would be able to tap cheap nuclear power. That day has come. Medical science has enabled us to virtually eradicate malaria, to bring down the birthrate and to increase longevity. The resultant population growth now attracts high priority and this constitutes a key area of Indian medical research and application. And so on, down the list.

Ten years ago, our Government adopted a Scientific Policy Resolution which stressed the importance of scientific training and research. It also declared: "Science has led to a growth and diffusion of culture to an extent never possible before. . . . It has provided new tools of thought and has given to civilization a new vitality and a new dynamism. . . ." The Resolution pointed out that science and technology could make up for deficiencies in natural resources and reduce demands on capital.

In working out this policy, we have encountered several problems. We train young and able scientists. But the advanced countries provide more and better opportunities for work and satisfaction. It seems that our investment serves as technical aid in reverse — from a developing country to an advanced country!

There is a continuing debate regarding foreign technology *versus* indigenous technology. Science may not know national barriers but patent laws do. Along with foreign aid, we receive foreign technology. When we do something for the first time, the import of technological know-how becomes inescapable. Yet many aid agreements are such that we are compelled to buy machinery abroad even when we can make it in India, and we are forced to accept foreign technicians when they do exist in India. The time factor and the need to avoid risks force these package deals upon us.

We are conscious that growth cannot be sustained on borrowed or even adapted technology. True self-reliance can come only as we develop the ability to solve our technological problems. Some are small but on big scale. How can our villages develop unless a wide range of tools can be placed at their disposal and modern fuel brought to them at nominal prices? We often hear the term "intermediate technology". In this, our scientists and technologists have much to do.

Over the past twenty years general and technical education has expanded considerably in India and we have developed a significant scientific and technological capability in several directions. It is now our endeavour to rationalize the structure of Indian science and to relate it more closely with the processes of planning and development. We must have a “policy for science” and equally “science in policy”.

Inaugural address to the Conference on Application of Science and Technology to the Development of Asia, New Delhi, August 9, 1968.

How can I, a lay person, presume to advise or to speak to scientists regarding their fields of specialization? It is becoming increasingly evident that the narrower the specialization, the deeper the need for a more generalist approach as well in order to understand the links between various branches of thought and activity. Science is universal not merely in the sense that it belongs to the whole world but also that it probes every aspect of our lives. No scientist today can disregard social and economic forces. No politician or economist can ignore science and technology and their implications.

The picture of science in our country has changed vastly since the early years of the century when this organization was established. Part of the change has been brought about by the efforts of the distinguished members of the Indian Science Congress. But as we complete the twenty-fifth year of our Independence, it is right to recall that much of this transformation is due to the hope invested in science and technology by the government of independent India.

We have built up vast scientific and technological assets. We are probably the world's third largest country so far as the number of scientists and the quantitative facilities for the training of scientists and technicians are concerned.

Our farmers have begun using new seed variations, fertilizers and pesticides over millions of hectares. Hundreds of thousands of villagers and urban people buy power pumps and transistor radios. We build machinery of the greatest complexity. The very size of the assets we have built up and the range of the skills we have developed (of which there is such heartening proof at the National Exhibition in Delhi) fill us with confidence that we can end poverty in the foreseeable future.

But we are deeply concerned about the returns which the nation is securing from its investments in science and technology for, in spite of advances in many directions, life has not changed much for the vast majority of our 100 million families who live in half a million villages. The problems we face are the age-old ones of poverty and economic backwardness and also the new ones created by growth. Hence the question before us is how to organize our programmes and priorities in science for the speedy achievement of the national purpose. Science holds the key to development. It should not in any way contribute to the perpetuation of poverty. Yet we find that the more the industry expands, the greater the need for higher training and the more sophisticated the tools. Thus many skills become redundant and an increasing number of artisans lose their self-reliance and are forced to join the queue of jobseekers. The village no less than the town becomes dependent on the whims of those who devise product patterns, and on market forces.

The scientific attitude is to look at a problem from all angles so as not to miss any aspect of the truth. But we find scientists from the Western

countries tend to view the East and its difficulties from their own particular angle. This is also unfortunately true of some Indian scientists who are trained abroad or derive their thinking from Western texts and theories. But the scientist is not a member only of the community of his co-workers. He is also a citizen with a stake in his country's future, for the sake of his children if not for himself. He cannot escape his obligations to those around him and to the world at large.

The provision of basic minimum needs to our people and the achievement of self-reliance by the end of the Fifth Plan are two interlinked goals to which we are pledged. We look to the scientific and technological community to enable us to fulfil these objectives. No project which is of importance to the common people and to the nation's development endeavour can be considered too humble for experts. Among these are problems of water conservation, soil improvement and the fuller use of locally available materials for building, for making articles of daily use or for medicinal and other purposes. Contemporary society cannot do without large-scale research and capital-intensive technology in certain areas. But a poor country cannot afford to neglect other aspects of its economy. We must devote immediate attention to the improvement of the equipment, materials, tools and processes which our rural people have developed over the centuries. Our villagers must be taught the rudiments of science and the elements of maintaining and repairing simple mechanical tools and electrical appliances. The fruits of development can reach out to the vast masses of our people only if we make such a two-pronged attempt.

Among the branches of science and engineering in which greater innovation and new thinking is needed, mainly from the point of view of the people's welfare, are medical aid and the construction of houses. In both these we have allowed ourselves to be dominated by Western concepts. The true yardstick of medical education is not whether our graduates will be accepted by foreign universities but whether they are acquiring the training to meet the medical and health needs of our people. Yet the present system of medical education with its heavy expenditure does not seem capable of meeting the country's needs for several decades to come. For that we must train a new kind of people's doctor who is able and willing to look after common ailments and who is not averse to working in villages and in the hills. I had thought that this was a problem confined to the developing countries but only yesterday, after this speech was written, I came across a newspaper report of the findings of a panel of medical educators in the United States. According to them, American doctors are very well trained to treat 15 per cent of man's ills, but the other 85 per cent — simple primary health care — needed by most persons is neglected. In fact, one of the doctors, Dr Hyde, who is on the staff of the House of Representatives Sub-Committee on Health, has stated that 60 per cent of a doctor's work could be done just as well by someone

with less training.

The distance between advanced societies and developing ones is growing, and this gap creates new psychological and political problems. Some of our scientists and trained men migrate because of better opportunities of life and work abroad. Among those who do remain, some look for short cuts. There are no short cuts but there is enormous scope for experimentation in technologies which will foster equality. Rural electrification is one such equalizer.

Increased resources by themselves are no guarantee that the public good will be served. There must be a search for technologies specially suited to our conditions. In the past our policies of industrial licensing, foreign collaboration and the allocation of foreign exchange sometimes tended to work against the utilization of indigenous technology. The argument that we cannot wait is often advanced in favour of the import of materials and know-how. But unless we take a stand at some point, the dependence will continue.

Perhaps the present lack of purpose and ineffectiveness in our scientific effort is because our industry does not spend adequate effort and funds on research and development. When their foreign collaboration agreements draw to an end, there are requests for extension. Establishments which had given a firm undertaking to establish their own R&D units have not always honoured it. We must now insist on such stipulations. This is necessary not only to move towards self-reliance but also to relieve the widespread unemployment among scientists and engineers.

All over the world, universities and industry are moving closer. University professors work as consultants to industry, as university students work in industrial undertakings and acquire a more practical bias in their education. Technical education is now being provided through a widespread system of sandwich courses, and an aspiring engineer is partly taught in his college and partly trained in industry. This is the only answer to the situation in our country where students are "educated" but not trained for the practical needs of industry.

Our important factories and laboratories are to be congratulated on the excellent work they are doing, but it is sad that they do not touch the lives of the community around them. The steel plants in Jamshedpur and Bhilai have made hardly any impact on the lives of the *Adivasis* who inhabit these areas. Often our scientists confine their science to the laboratory while at home they assume the familiar traditional attitudes. Spreading science-consciousness should become one of the natural functions of a scientist or technologist. Ivory towers have no place in this century and scholars should unbend themselves intellectually and take their knowledge to the worker in the factory, the farmer in the field, to the common man in the market place and, last though by no means least, the child at school. Abroad, many of the greatest men of science are not

embarrassed to speak to ordinary people and many specialists have found that their own concepts gain greater clarity because of the need to simplify and use language comprehensible to all.

An ecological crisis is threatening the very existence of human society. Man has progressed by controlling and harnessing the forces of Nature. Yet he has not paid attention to his own tendency to rapacity so as to be able to make judicious use of his knowledge and of the goods and equipment now available to him. Apart from the growing menace of nuclear and biological warfare, our health is threatened by dangers nearer home. Only last week there have been two news items regarding the indiscriminate use of insecticides. In Gujarat, a new peril is threatening agriculture in the shape of a mite which is attacking not only cotton crops but also jowar, bajra, rice and even cacti. We are told that overdosage of pesticides in the desire of higher yields is depositing poisonous residues in the milk and vegetables supplied to us in Delhi. Because technological man is mainly concerned with what he can get, we become aware of the problems of destruction or pollution only at a later stage when remedial action is almost impossible.

Bigger and faster are not synonyms for better. Should we encourage new appetites which are not conducive to a satisfactory life? It is evident that progress cannot look merely to immediate gains. If we live only for now, can we build a tomorrow? Every step we take, every discovery we make, disturbs the world as it is and starts a chain of reaction with far-reaching results. Hence, at every stage we have to consider what side effects are being produced and what fresh problems will be created. When any new machine is invented or a new form of energy tapped, there should simultaneously be a deep and integrated study of its psychological and environmental implications.

Indians have traditionally seen energy in its triple aspects of creator, preserver and destroyer. Many nations have derived their economic and military power from the creative and destructive power of science. Suddenly, they are discovering that by neglecting the role of science as preserver, they are threatened not only with pollution in their environment but with a growing insensitivity and lack of responsibility in the human being. Scientists in India must make a special effort to avoid those obvious mistakes of the industrial civilization and emphasize the benign balancing aspect of science as preserver, so that they can plan our own economic and technological environment more wisely and, if possible, make some contribution to civilization.

My generation was brought up to believe, perhaps naively, that science would make the utmost use of natural resources and, if necessary, complement them so that mankind could be provided with his basic necessities and be freed from drudgery and dead routine, to be able to enhance his own talents and exert a more vital influence on his community and the

world. Instead, he is becoming a prisoner of the machine, alienated and apathetic, seeking to compensate for his feelings of guilt by violent action. Technology seems to be giving more to those who have, thus sharpening the existing divisions amongst sections of people and between nations. It is making the struggle of the have-nots an unequal one. It seems to dehumanize rather than bring out the best of human values.

Science is knowledge and power. Can it not work to bring about greater harmony?

Address to Diamond Jubilee Session of the Indian Science Congress, Chandigarh, January 3, 1973.

Administrative Tasks

All over the world, regardless of political patterns growing importance is being attached to managerial training. A technological society needs managers as much as technologists. The old concept of an entrepreneur-owner hiring a few technicians for his plant but running it himself, became obsolete long ago. As technology has grown increasingly complex and, as the size of operations has expanded, the manager with leadership qualities has come to the fore.

Ownership of capital and the managerial function are seen as two distinct entities. The manager may or may not be a technologist himself. He may work for a capitalist or he may serve a socialist society. Whatever his background, the same set of qualities is required and the same results are expected. He has to run his plant efficiently. He has to command the respect of a large number of different types of people. He has to look out for advances in his field of technology, so that he can meet changes half way.

In a developing society such as ours management has an even greater contribution to make. Development is a process of moving from a primitive or traditional technology to a scientific modern technology. In every sector of the economy, whether it is agriculture or industry, whether it is transport or even public health, development consists of locating, processing and harnessing latent resources. In a study of "America's Needs and Resources", I found a chapter entitled "Technology: A Primary Resource." Here is an obvious truth well put, for no resource, natural or man-made, is usable without technology. Oil must have existed in this part of the country long ago when the Narmada and the Tapti first began to flow. But it required modern technology to discover it and put it to the service of this State and the country. The will and ability to spot a resource and convert it into wealth is generally termed entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship cannot exist without managerial talent. At every stage, when choices are to be made from among numerous alternatives, each with its own implications of capital, personnel, time schedules and social impact, decisions cannot be left to instinct. They need the trained managerial mind.

The managerial mind has special appreciation of cost and benefit. With the right kind of training, it will count not only the economic cost and benefit, but also the social cost and social benefit. The managerial mind is attuned to change. The advice of the professional manager should, therefore, be of special value to the Government. The decisions of the Government affect the future of millions, so it is important to take advice from those who look towards the future. The general administrator is basically a *status quo* man. He lives by rules which are the outcome of precedents and past experience. The scientist, on the other hand, is an agent of change. The future has no precedents. Scientists and managers and, indeed politicians, must have a keen perception of the future and be sensitive to change. Expert knowledge provides the necessary means for informed governmental decisions, especially when they deal with the increasingly

complex process of industrial and economic growth. Most people still tend to judge a government by the static norms of the revenue-dominated and law-and-order administration of the olden days, little appreciating how complex the process of government has become in the last twenty years.

The need to bring about planned and accelerated change has compelled the government to assume direct responsibility for a large number of productive and distributive functions. It needs less time to put up a factory than to train men of competence to run it. When we embarked on planning there was a general shortage of trained executives. But the assault on poverty could not be delayed, and so the drilling and the fighting had to be taken up simultaneously. The management of public enterprises is a relatively new and important part of administrative practice. It involves not only the skill of production and maintenance, but of bringing projects to fruition within stipulated time schedules and monetary allocations. It involves a knack for forward planning and a heightened awareness of social responsibility. Each project manager in a sense acts on behalf of the nation. As the Third Plan document observed even seven years ago, there is considerable underestimation of the management implications of development. It was recognized that one of the key tasks of planning was the training of competent managers with the ability to lead.

I believe in efficiency which is the avowed objective of scientific management. But life is not lived in compartments and efficiency which is divorced from the facts of life around us can create new problems. Anyone who wishes to be effective as well as efficient must develop a social conscience and sensitivity to the needs of our people as a whole. It is an uncomfortable fact that technological development has increased the disparity between nations and disparity within our society. The industrial worker improves his skill and earns more, but the landless labourer remains where he is. The farmer whose land is irrigated avails himself of the credit and commodity facilities and uses the new inputs, but the "dry" farmer continues to look to a stern sky. It takes time for skills to cover a substantial part of the population. Our limited capital resources have perforce to be devoted to projects with assured results, rather than to the equalization of handicaps.

Modern science and technology are the outcome of successive Industrial Revolutions of Europe and America. We have adopted them, yet have not wholly learnt to adapt them to our own circumstances. We must evolve approaches to technology which suit our social *milieu*. The problem is not a new one. We have been discussing this since the beginning of our planned development. In practice, however, many of our decision-makers automatically carry over the prevalent norms of an advanced society. They are mesmerized by modernity and forget that they have to plan for India and work for India. We cannot afford to help a small number to the detriment of the vast.

Jet travel, international seminars, etc., may increase the peril of too much internationalism. International living and the understanding in depth of the problems of others create sympathy and friendship and takes us towards our goal of One World. But mere speed may mean skimming over the surface and taking a superficial view or searching for short cuts. In India the need is not only to go fast but to see that each step is a strengthening one, leading to self-reliance.

Our executives must certainly see what goes on in the world, but their feet must be firmly planted in the soil of India. We have so many castes — let us not create a new one. You have a special obligation to pull down the old walls which separate one Indian from another. Your training and skill should be used to integrate society and to promote social mobility.

I note with special pleasure that one of your activities is to train people for the managerial needs of agricultural co-operatives. I should like you to take special interest in the unskilled employees under you — and help them or their children to acquire technical skills. In your recruitment policies also you should strenuously reject parochial considerations. The whole of India should be the home, as well as the workshop, of every Indian.

All over the world a certain glamour is attached to things from outside and foreign brand names are more in demand. At one time or another, almost every country has felt the need to popularize its own products. I remember the "Buy British" campaign in England with its slogan "British is Best". In India the craze for foreign goods may be one of the side effects of our old colonial past. This psychology of inferiority is an obstacle in our rise to the top. Gandhiji put us on the right track when he introduced the "Use Swadeshi" movement. We have all certain common tasks and imperatives. The foremost of them is to develop greater pride in Indian products and Indian skills. Inventiveness and the use of indigenous materials and skills must be encouraged. With a little more confidence in the proven abilities which have been developed in the country, there would be less need for collaboration. We cannot do without importing know-how and technology, specially in the comparatively new industries, but dependence on collaboration is bad, for it diverts us from our own effort and encourages people to take the easy road. I am reminded of a few lines of a verse which I had read some years ago. The stanza goes as follows:

Knock, knock,

"Who is there"

"A little lonely sin."

"Come in," I said, and all hell was in.

The public and private sectors have complementary roles. Each has equal need to use indigenous materials and skills extensively, to save foreign exchange, to secure economics, to explore export possibilities to the maximum, to improve methods of maintenance, to enforce the highest

standards of product, to improve in-plant training and to secure greater worker-participation. These tasks rest on the shoulders of the executive. Many of our factories are as good as any in the world, but we must confess that many are slovenly. We do not always give the attention necessary to details. The floor of a factory sometimes can reflect the efficiency of the manager.

I am glad to have this opportunity of participating in this convocation and of meeting the young executives who are on the threshold of the adventure that is life. During the years of training, you have learned to wield new management tools. You must keep abreast of further technological and managerial developments. At the same time you should develop sympathy and a sense of identification with the common people amongst whom you will work and live. In the years to come, large sums of money, and the lives and hopes of a large number of people will be entrusted to you. If you keep growing, and if you blend efficiency with social conscience, you will earn the best rewards of your profession — not merely money or the sense of power, but the gratitude of the people.

I have talked of the future. We are concerned with the future we make for our children and their children, but we should be equally concerned about what these coming generations will think of us. Let us so live and work as to leave behind shining memories. As Dr Martin Luther King said of his people we hope history will say of us — there lived a great people who put new meaning in the veins of civilization.

Address to the third annual convocation of the Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, April 13, 1968.

Government's activities have increased in range, in volume and in complexity in the course of our planned economic development. The number of public employees has also increased. Amongst those who invoke the so-called Parkinson's Law are many whose aim is not efficiency but reluctance to accept the need for the Government to undertake new responsibilities. Government's functions have increased as peoples' assertiveness and requirements have increased. Our country has rightly refused to adopt a negative attitude towards the functions of the Government and the role of civil servants. If Government has to do more for the people, its employees must play a more dynamic and more creative role as the instruments of Government policies and programmes.

To be able to discharge its new responsibilities the civil service must change itself. Some transformation has already occurred but much more is required in the years to come.

Development, even more than maintenance of continuity and order, has become the business of the administrative apparatus. The implementation of plan programmes requires a greater say for the expert and the technician and re-examination of old norms so that the desire to enforce obedience to rules does not hold up work. At the same time, the general administrator himself has to acquire a greater understanding of economic and technological forces.

In all countries today there is a kind of battle between the expert and the generalist. Our aim should be to ensure that the country gets the best from both. Sometimes I find that our experts are not expert enough. Nor are they immune from the common human frailty of in-fighting or a sense of hierarchy. The expert and the generalist are both products of the same social *milieu*, and both must strive to equip themselves for future tasks in a world where interdisciplinary approach is becoming the key to advance.

It is against this perspective that we should keep under constant review our policies regarding recruitment and training of civil servants of different categories and the procedures for appraisal of their performance. No Government can possibly be run without rules and regulations. But these rules and regulations cannot be static. They must fit into the dynamics of a changing situation. We cannot consider satisfactory a state of affairs in which it is easier to amend a Constitutional provision than some so-called "fundamental rules" in civil service regulations.

The procedures and practices should encourage initiative, foster innovation, match responsibilities and powers, and create a sense of participation at all levels. We call ourselves a participatory democracy; our administrative system should reflect the spirit of involvement. The question of rank should give place to sense of partnership and working together.

The vast majority of Government servants — whether they are clerks or engineers or tax officers or general administrators — have a career

extending over nearly three decades. During this long period every civil servant will necessarily witness striking changes in the society around him. When the young civil servant of today — whether he is in a technical or a non-technical post — rises to the top, he will see a world which will be vastly different from the one in which he joined service. Obviously he should strive for a continual upgradation of his skills.

I therefore attach great importance to the programmes of training — initial training as well as in-service training — to all categories of civil servants. Apart from formal training, I would consider it even more important for a civil servant to develop an enquiring mind receptive to new ideas, and a restless spirit which keeps urging him constantly to find ways of doing assigned tasks better and more efficiently. These are the positive qualities which the country expects from the civil servants of tomorrow. Negatively, they should try and keep away from cynicism and the line of least resistance. We should place on a rational basis our procedures for the identification of talent, nurturing of talent and of rewarding such talent. Nothing can be more frustrating than talent unrewarded. A society cannot progress if only seniority or rank counts. Public administration must get out of the shadows of feudalism.

One important administrative problem of today is delegation. But we can interpret this narrowly to mean that an agency or executive should be in a position to make day-to-day decisions without the the Secretariat in Delhi (or in the State capital) breathing down his neck. Often the heads of institutions to whom power is delegated do not share it with their colleagues, and do not develop the spirit and mechanism of team work. The aggrieved go back to the same old Central authority for redress. This is an area in which there is great need of new practices and conventions.

Another problem is that of attitudes. Our civil service is largely drawn from the urban areas and is urban-oriented, while the majority of our people live in rural areas. With the broadening of the base of our educational system and the wider dispersal of facilities for higher education, we should expect the class composition of our services to change. But this will take time. In the meantime the problem of how to impart to the civil servant — whether he is an administrator like a collector or a doctor or an irrigation engineer — a sense of identification with the problems of the poor of the rural areas remains. How are we to ensure that they have intuitive sympathy with the people and have a livelier appreciation of their problems and difficulties? The inculcation of proper attitudes should perhaps begin in our educational institutions. But the process must be carried through and completed in the course of the civil servant's career under the Government.

Our civil servants had to undergo a major process of adjustment at the time of transfer of power in 1947. Because of the need for continuity we did

not then make structural changes in the system which was necessary. By and large the process of adjustment was smoothly completed. As Government's policies are becoming increasingly egalitarian a similar process of adjustment is now called for. There is urgent need for radical attitudinal changes, particularly at the points at which the administration comes in contact with the people, for example, the block development office, the taluka office, the police station, the post office, the railway ticket booth, and so on. Greater courtesy, speed and consideration in dealing with the people is called for.

The co-operation of civil servants and their associations should be enlisted in bringing about a visible improvement in the manner in which these public offices at the grass-root level function. Higher ranks of civil servants have a special responsibility in providing effective leadership to bring about such improvement.

Much of what I have said applies even more to our public sector undertakings. There we need a greater sense of commitment to social objectives, greater scope for the technical element, greater delegation of authority down the line, greater involvement and the development of a corporate spirit. In short, a new culture. The public enterprises must primarily fulfil their economic role. By efficient functioning they should add to the nation's economic strength and also to budgetary resources. They should help to foster a new ethic in administration.

Democracy has struck root in our country. Whatever theories of administration we may evolve, or whatever system we may fashion, these should be acceptable to the people and promote their interests. Our democratic system has enabled an increasingly large number of people to acquire direct experience of administration through elective offices as members of panchayats or panchayat samitis, zila parishads, State Legislative Assemblies or Parliament. We thus have people in different walks of life who have had occasion to observe our administrative system from positions of vantage, and have some ideas on how the machinery functions and how it could be reshaped. I hope the Institute will devise arrangements by which there could be mutually beneficial interaction between experts and holders of elective offices. . . .

Shri Asoka Mehta has said very kind words about me as leader and so on. But the whole point of democracy is that we should not work in a concept of leader-and-led but we should evolve a concept of partnership. We are here all involved in creating a better standard of living without damaging or diminishing the spirit of the people. We find in many places where the standard of living has gone up, it has not really always made them better people or happier people. So we have this tremendous task and we can only do it in a spirit of co-operation and partnership.

Excerpts from address to the annual meeting of the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, October 22, 1971.

The use of the expert is a major problem in public administration. I have no doubt that our present administrative system uses the expert inadequately and indifferently. It gives undue weight to the generalist and persists with criteria of competence developed in times when the range of government decisions was very limited and was unrelated to the demands of economic management and growth. Also, in the absence of responsible governments, the official class developed a mystique both of infallibility and of transferability of talent.

After we attained freedom, governmental responsibility suddenly expanded. The public sector was enlarged as a matter of deliberate choice. Officials were called upon to bear vast and new kinds of responsibility. Not many could be trained in the expert knowledge and scrutiny which their work required. Experts from outside were not assimilated fast enough into the service.

In spite of numerous attempts at reform, the administration still tends to be hierarchical and status-bound. Pay and power are equated, instead of pay and utility. It is odd that the greatest doctors and engineers in the country, who would be rated as the leaders of the profession and who save lives or add permanent assets to the nation, can rarely hope to receive the pay or status of Secretaries of Ministries. The brightest of our young men and women choose engineering and medicine. If they happen to go into government, they are very soon overtaken by the general administrator. This must change and I am trying to change it. The administrative system must reflect an individual's contribution to human welfare and economic gain.

Having made the point, let me hasten to correct any apprehension that the technologist is *ipso facto* and in every way superior to the professional administrator or politician. The man trained to be a technologist may not necessarily be competent to decide on matters outside his specialization. He may not be the best person to judge the social or political cost.

A great deal of administration consists in taking political decisions in the handling of men. The instincts and talents of leadership do not automatically flow from training in technology. Technology as such has no answers to political problems. Some scientists and technologists certainly possess qualities of social leadership of the highest order, but the abilities of most remain confined to their fields of specialization.

Earlier I said that our administration is too status-conscious. This is true of our whole society. Seniority seems to be the rule of our national life. The creative younger person does not always get the chances he merits. In certain branches of science and higher technology the most creative work is done at a young age. Bertrand Russell has remarked that he was at the height of his intellectual powers at twenty. Einstein did his greatest work when he was twenty-five. At the rate at which knowledge is growing, some of our elders in science and technology have not kept

pace with new developments. They are also not fully appreciative of the intimate relationship of higher technology and laboratory research. They cannot believe that young scientists might often be greater experts in specific fields than themselves. In traditionalist countries like ours, Governments tend to seek advice from the elderly rather than from the young. The old, wiser in the world's ways, are also apt to give convenient advice. This can be dangerous. The outspoken, inconvenient opinion is often the more valuable.

May I express a second note of caution. Even engineers and doctors in our country are as prone as others to develop the bureaucratic attitude. An eminent scientist once told me: "Your young scientists and engineers are very able people. They know exactly what is to be done. But they do not do it themselves, they ask others to do it." Speaking to a gathering of engineers some years ago, my father deplored the fact that many engineers preferred desk jobs and felt prouder pushing files than working in the field.*

The officer mentality is also responsible for holding up progress. The hold of caste, not only in society but in Government as developed in colonial days, feeds this outlook. Technology ought to have made a difference, but it did not. In the West, most of the early technological improvements and innovations were the work of artisans and craftsmen. Science itself arose from this technological base. In our country Western technology was appropriated by the middle class and it remained unrelated to the indigenous artisan class. The middle class which first took to engineering education retained the middle class outlook of not sullyng their hands. It is only now, when people from the underprivileged classes are going in for education in large numbers, that we have an opportunity to end this dichotomy.

It is well known that knowledge has been growing faster than our ability to handle it. Administrations sometimes lag behind the situations they are supposed to administer. If a large proportion of the investment we have made under the plans remains unutilized, the cause is to be found in administrative shortcomings. The Tungabhadra project provides a case study of such shortcomings and how they

*"The Chairman has raised a few questions with regard to the fact that while formerly engineers used to be Secretaries to the Government, they are no longer so now. I have no objection to engineers being Secretaries to Government, but I object to those who are specially qualified for a particular profession sitting in the office, quill-driving. I consider it a waste of their talents, knowledge and experience."

"Secretaries are available in abundance but engineers are few. . . . Whereas engineers have a reputation all over the world, the Secretaries are not known to anyone outside Delhi."

—Shri Jawaharlal Nehru at the 24th Annual Meeting of the Central Board of Irrigation and Power, October 26, 1953.

are sought to be corrected. For years after the dam was completed, water flowed untouched in the canals. It was found that the administration had not provided field channels or taken care to educate the farmer in the new farming practices suited to irrigated cultivation. There was not enough co-ordination between the irrigation engineer, the agricultural officer and the revenue authority. Tungabhadra learnt its lessons the hard way and today it has introduced a well co-ordinated system of administration in which the engineer's responsibility extends to the point where the water actually reaches the field of the user.

Extracts from convocation address to the University of Roorkee, November 18, 1967.

Goals of Education

My schooling and my education were rather extraordinary. If I went from school to school, it was not because my father was in prison or my mother was unwell but because my father had rather special views on education. He thought it was important that I should study in different parts of the country and get to know different types of people. Therefore I went to college in Bengal. Of course, the European part of my education was due to my mother's ill health. When I went to Oxford, it seemed to me that too much was happening in India for me to be away, merely getting a degree. At that time all my family, as perhaps some millions of other Indians, were in prison and to many of us who were far from the shores of India it seemed that the most important education was not in an educational institution but in the prisons of India. That was the reason why I came back.

I think I can truly say that the world was my university, not only in a metaphorical sense — because I was in many countries learning in different languages — but because my home itself was a little world, not merely one of the main centres of the political movement but a centre where we had guests from many countries.

Just last week a television interviewer asked me how I felt about meeting the British. It was an extraordinary question to ask, because we were trained at the height of the struggle to distinguish between the system and the individual. The Indian struggle for Independence was something very special because of these ideals and values. Perhaps it was the only struggle in history where one can say that the entire people were involved, and although it was our great good fortune to have many great men and women as our leaders, these leaders after all came from the Indian people. There was a working together of the two which gave us the strength and the courage to face all the difficulties and to emerge successful.

Punjab is a byword for courage and self-help in India. All over India we have admired the valour of the fighting men who have come from here and who have guarded our frontiers. We are proud of the achievement of the farmers and the young entrepreneurs of Punjab and they are a great asset to our country. This is the spirit which we are trying to bring about in all parts of India.

Since freedom, we have made great advance in education as in other areas of life. The number of university students has gone up by eight hundred per cent in twenty-five years. Yet sometimes one wonders where and what this education is doing for us. I have admiration for the younger generation in India. I think we are producing a very fine lot of young men and women and I think their contribution to this country's future will be great. But when I talk of education here, I am not concerned with this upper layer of the brilliant but of the vast numbers who are now coming into education. Eighty-five per cent of them come from homes

which had little education — even from homes which were quite illiterate. There has been what one should call an explosion in education. For the middle classes, education has always been of great social value and something which is considered a must for girls as well as boys — unfortunately not for the best of reasons for girls, but because it gives them greater value in the marriage market! It is only after Independence that the other classes, who were denied this opportunity and the reward and respect which education brings, the Scheduled Castes, the tribal people, the so-called Backward Classes, have come into the educational field. Education has proved to be a road for advancement for them. There is no doubt that higher education has become a force for equality in our society.

But the question has come to be asked, more specially amongst the young people and students themselves, whether our present educational system and structure are adequate for the needs of contemporary India. Many groups and commissions have gone into this question, but no one has come up with a really satisfactory answer. We are producing far too many general graduates who are not trained for any specific job. Nor do they have the adaptability or resourcefulness to make a place for themselves in society. Instead of making people self-reliant, education is actually making them more dependent on Government or on industry. So the feeling is growing that general education must be accompanied by certain specific training.

When I say this I do not mean that education should be confined to vocational education. Basically education is not what one knows or what one can do, but what one becomes. Nevertheless, in today's world or in any world, young people have to earn their living and education must equip them for it if we are to avoid frustration.

There is general agreement that education in India must be overhauled. There can be two approaches. The first is to recast the curriculum from the primary stage upwards. The second is to begin with higher education. Both are urgent, but perhaps because of the growing unemployment amongst our educated young people, the second approach, that is restructuring of higher education, is of more immediate concern. Reform here, I think, should begin with technical education. There should be a coming together of the universities and the factories. Lessons learnt in classrooms should be combined with work done in factories or in fields. This would not only produce the right mental attitude amongst our people, but give them familiarity with problems of work and problems of society, which is so necessary for proper adjustment when they finish their education.

This is the attitude about which Mahatma Gandhi spoke most often and tried to get us to imbibe, namely, that no one, regardless of what education he has, what rank or position he happens to hold, and what

wealth he has, is superior to another in all matters. Each person has something which may make him a little better, but it does not mean that he has not got much to learn from the others. Unfortunately, education in our country builds just one more wall in a society which is already divided into too many artificial barriers between man and fellow man. If we could have an educational system which could combine practical experience with theoretical study, some of this attitude would change and there would be that desire for working together and helping one another which is so essential in today's India. Each one of us must be a worker, regardless of where we happen to be or what work we are doing.

There is similarly the whole question of medical education. I spoke a little about it this morning at the Science Congress. It is becoming a very serious problem for us. You all know that a doctor's education and training uses up a great deal of money, effort and expensive equipment. But we are told that 75 per cent of our doctors are treating only 10 or 15 per cent of our people in the cities whereas the rest of the population, the vast majority of the population, has to do without any or hardly any medical assistance. Here again the question is: What training is necessary to help the largest number of people? These days, the Chinese example is often put before us and there is a great deal of talk of what they call the "barefoot doctor". I do not know if that is an example for us to follow. But I do know that there is need for people to go into the villages and into the hills.

Some years ago when I was touring Himachal Pradesh, I found an attractive hospital building, small but very neat. But almost every room had a large lock on the door because the doctor was on leave. The doctors did not like staying in the hills even though the climate was good, and they could lead a better life, than in a city. But it was perhaps not as lucrative as city practice would be. This would not perhaps matter in a country where there is sufficient medical help, but in a country where the vast majority of people are not getting medical help I do not think this is something which society can afford.

This morning I also spoke of a news item which I read only last night — of a doctors' panel in the United States which went into this question and which brought out its report only last week, and which said that the same problem exists even in such an affluent country as the United States. More and more doctors there are spending more and more time and money on fewer and fewer patients.

I am not here giving solutions. I am merely raising questions — questions to which answers have to be found in the very near future. If we are to retain any kind of stability in our society, we have to concern ourselves with the primary problem of health. We have to produce new types of doctors, new types of nurses and we have to take each section by itself.

I have spoken about technical education and about medical education. A similar approach is necessary when we deal with agricultural scientists or veterinary scientists. Later perhaps we could take up science, commerce and arts degrees. Our aim should be that people not only acquire a certain amount of knowledge but are able to put that knowledge to use for themselves as well as for the community.

Our country is simply not affluent enough to bear the burden of large numbers of untrained graduates. One of the major problems in our society is that of educated unemployment, and yet, as many people have said, there are many unemployable educated. There are vacant jobs and we cannot find people to fit into them. This lacuna has somehow to be filled. We still have to have a major drive to convince the public and parents that university education cannot be available to all. Now this means two things. The first is the diversification and vocationalization of education, and finding out what the needs of society are, of a particular State, or a particular area, trying to match the courses with those needs. Secondly it means that the last two years of secondary education must be in keeping with the pattern of development. It means also that manpower planning at the State and local level must be correlated with such vocational training at secondary school level.

This is very much easier said than done, specially because it raises social and psychological problems, apart from all the other problems of reorganization on this scale. As I said earlier, for the first time the children of the so-called Backward Classes are getting an opportunity to go in for higher education. So, as soon as we say that we want to limit the number of universities or university students, the cry will arise, and rightly, that we are doing this just when the masses are able to avail themselves of higher education, and that it would be unfair to them. Therefore, the greatest care will have to be taken to ensure that such slow down in expansion of college admissions does not in any way limit the heightened expectations of the Backward Classes.

Education must be more egalitarian as well as more purposeful and functional. We must give full opportunity to the children of the weaker sections of the community to receive higher education not only so that they can advance on the social ladder but also to enrich the quality of their lives. Therefore any restriction of expansion of higher education must be accompanied by positive steps to bring about a change in the composition of student population in favour of the weaker section.

It may seem a little harsh when you say that you want to limit university education. But actually why do people go in for a degree? There are very few who positively want to teach or to do research for which they need a degree. The vast number of people want to take up some kind of job and therefore want opportunity for practical training. I personally think that once a new system is settled, we should

allow people to change or to go over from one type to other, should they find that there is a change in their aptitude or they have not made the right choice. But today's education seems to imprison young people. Even those who are unhappy have no alternative route to take and the whole process of selection for employment is such that a degree is absolutely essential. So, at one end we are saying: "Do not go in for degrees", and at the other end we provide no opportunity for the person who does not have a degree.

These are some of the contradictions of our present system and it needs not only educational leaders but those who are concerned with administration and those who are concerned with industry and other fields of activity to get together and develop an all-round type of education where our young people not only gain knowledge but learn not just to hold one job. This is what I think is a weakness in vocational training — that you are trained for only a particular job. But if for some reason in this very fast changing world that job is no longer available or is out of date, what do you do then?

Therefore education must prepare you to look ahead, to enable you to face the challenge of the future, make you resourceful enough, adaptable enough, to branch out into new activities. This will be possible when the young person is dealt with more imaginatively than he is today.

The problem of education as a whole, and higher education in particular, is not peculiar to our country. It is a question which faces most countries in the world. We have turbulence in the student population. We say it is because of lack of opportunity, because of poverty, because of a feeling of insecurity. Yet we find the same violence in societies which are not suffering from any of these but rather the opposite, which have perhaps too much security, too much affluence, too many opportunities. So, there must be something else which is behind this violence, this feeling of frustration.

I think it is that the young people do not feel wanted in the sense perhaps that I can say I felt wanted when I was young. My life was far harder than most young persons' life today, physically, mentally, psychologically, and yet the one thing which was secure was that you felt you had a place in the world. You felt that no matter how little you did, it counted in the freedom movement. It counted in what was happening in your country. That is the feeling which everybody needs. Poverty is bad, but I do not think it is as bad as a feeling of being superfluous, of not being needed by society. Our education today is unfortunately creating this feeling. We give a certain amount of knowledge. Yet, either it is not enough knowledge or it is not accompanied by other values, by that something which gives a feeling of involvement, a desire to be involved, a feeling of responsibility for what is happening around one.

So, in many ways the real problem is of the trends in the world civilization today. While these trends exist we have to be prepared to meet them. It is no use being trained for an ideal world where this kind of conflict and alienation do not exist. They exist and our young people must be trained to have the guts and the strength to face the challenge and not to be overcome by it. They must be willing to face it head on and feel competent and capable of overcoming the difficulties.

Very recently we had a visitor to India who has been talking about deschooling. His theory is that the school is at the bottom of most evils today. More than in rich countries, he feels that in the poor countries the system makes a division between those who are unable to finish school and those who do finish school and college. Similarly he talks of detooling. By that he means that modern industry is again divorcing man from his environment and there must be a rethinking so that he once again gets a feeling of oneness with Nature.

This may be going to the other extreme. But I do believe that a middle way is possible. We can see today where we are going wrong. Our difficulty is that we have had an educational system which had little contact with life in our country. In spite of Independence, the system has not really changed much. It belongs not only to another civilization, it belongs to another century. And we need a minor or even perhaps a major revolution in the whole thinking so that education produces young people who can think on original lines, who have self-confidence. Today many of our young people have ability but they are not sure enough of themselves to be able to do what they think should be done. This is one of the weaknesses of our society.

The other essential is that we must find our own answers. There is no one, however brilliant, in any part of the world who can tell us what has to be done in India or how it can be done. This is something that only those who are in the educational field and those who are educating and those who are being educated, find. Ultimately unemployment will go only when we have prepared our young people to create jobs for themselves. Today there is no lack of opportunity in India for anyone who wants to serve the public. But there is a lack of set jobs with set salaries or wages. So it is this independence of mind which is needed amongst our young people and I think it is just round the corner. All we have to give them is confidence in themselves, confidence in their people and in their country's future, and the feeling that making a mistake is not a sin. Everybody makes mistakes, everybody can fail, but the test of character is not whether you fail or not but how you face up to your failure and what you learn from your mistakes and your failures.

Therefore I hope that the young people of this University and all over India will concern themselves once more with what is happening in

the country. Not with the small problems of the University or the student population but of the great forces which are working in our country and in the world. These forces move us and influence us but each one of us is in a position in our turn to influence these forces and to be a part of them. If we look at the world from that light I think we can all join together to make this a better place and make far better use of the knowledge, capacity and power which mankind has today.

Address to the special convocation of the Panjab University, Chandigarh, on January 3, 1973, when receiving the degree of Doctor of Laws (*honoris causa*.)

Duties of Citizens

I think that in a way all women are teachers. Whether they are actually in the teaching profession or not, whether they have any particular job or whether they are merely home makers, they are first, foremost, and to the last, teachers and guides of society. What sort of society we will have lies very much in the hands of the women of that country. This is why we attach so much importance to the education of women.

I am sure you have all heard of the oft-repeated quotation from Gandhiji about a man's education being the education of an individual, but a woman's education being the education of the family. This is very true. So, it is important at any time and in any country what women do, what they think, how much understanding they have of problems at home and abroad and how much involvement they feel with these problems. What we need amongst our people is understanding. Understanding is part of maturity because there can be no maturity without understanding. But one can have understanding without maturity. Sometimes one finds even small children being very understanding and sensitive to situations, and the sensitivity is lost as they grow up. We find in fact all children, when they are small, are without prejudices of any kind. They are not aware of the differences of religion, of caste, or creed or colour or race. It is when they grow up that these creep in and colour their attitudes towards their neighbour and therefore towards the life. So, it rests in the women of India and more especially in the women of the rising generation to see what sort of influence they want to cast on the nation.

We talk often of the emancipation of women. But usually when we have talked of emancipation, we have meant only how many women were able to be educated, how many were able to get good positions and so on. Actually what is meant by the emancipation of women is not merely the numbers of these few women, but the position and the influence of the average woman. This is what we would like to see in India — the average woman should have a status, an honourable status, in life, and that she should be able to exert her influence for the good and the benefit of the community. We have known throughout our history and perhaps in the history of all nations that even at times when women were not emancipated there have been women of character who have left an impression on society and sometimes on an entire age. But such names have been few and far between. We would like the influence of women to be more deeply felt and they have that opportunity more than any man can ever have. Because, as I said, they do the teacher's work from the time a new life begins. From the birth of the baby they have in their care the moulding of a new mind, a new body, a future citizen. And the moulding does not take place only as we sometimes imagine by giving good advice.

I am very hesitant to come and speak at such functions because I find

that one is normally expected to give good advice. And this is something I do not like doing, for the simple reason that when I was a young person I did not take anybody's advice. And so I can well imagine that other young people feel the same way. But what does influence one, what moulds one and helps one to grow in a particular direction is what one sees around, how people are behaving, how they are thinking, how they are acting. This burden again falls on the parents and even more on the mother who spends more time with the child. So, there are two main tasks for women, I think. The first is to create the right sort of atmosphere. What do we want in our country? We want a better life for our people. But what is a better life? Is it merely living in better house, having better clothes, having better nutrition? All these things are important. But even more important is another kind of atmosphere — one of friendship and goodwill, or is it one of hatred? We live in a world which is a highly competitive one and which therefore encourages rivalries. There could be good rivalries, as they are in a college competition, as they are in the college examinations, where each person is trying to do her best without wanting to do anybody else down. These are good rivalries which help us to grow. But sometimes in life there are also bad rivalries. We feel that if we can somehow diminish somebody else, we shall grow. But that is not the way of life. Nobody has grown by cutting down anybody else. You grow only by helping other people to grow. If you undertake one task, however small it is, and if you do it well, you will find that you are able to do another task as well. But if you sit back and say: "No, this job is not big enough for me," you will never find a satisfactory job, nor will you be able to give satisfaction in any job which you do take up. Therefore, much depends on our mental attitude and the atmosphere and the attitudes we create around us. We know of people who have only to come into a room to change the atmosphere of the room. They can make the room gay and happy, they can bring a dull and heavy atmosphere, they can bring an atmosphere of love or an atmosphere of hatred and anger. It is up to mothers to see that we make a better world in this other sense. I am sure that if we can create an atmosphere of peace and goodwill, then it becomes much easier to give even the material benefits to our people, and for us to work for the material benefits.

India has made tremendous progress since Independence. But it is true that in the last few years we have not been able to go forward. Now we have two alternatives before us. Either we say: "Well, we don't have the means, we better stop where we are." We may feel that in doing so, we avoid a lot of trouble. But what happens? In fact nobody really can stand still in life. Life goes on, the years move on, and if one tries to stand still, in fact one goes backward, because other countries are not standing still, time is not standing still. I do not know how many of you have read a children's book which is full of adult good sense, *Alice in Wonderland*.

In that book there is a Red Queen. Actually she is the queen of a chessboard and she is running very fast, and this little girl Alice asks her: "Why are you running so fast?" She says: "Well, I have to run so fast to keep where I am." I think, Alice asked her: "Where are you getting?" She says: "I am not getting anywhere but if I don't run, I will be left behind. I have to run merely to keep my place." And today India is very much in this situation. Unless we decide to move fast, with all the difficulties and hardships which this will entail, we will go very much further back. We won't see that we are going further back today. We will suddenly find in a couple of years that we have fallen back. And then, it will be very much more difficult to cover the ground we have lost.

This places a burden on every Indian citizen. Are we prepared to carry this burden, to carry this responsibility? Each one of us probably feels: "Why should I bother? Why should I not have a good time? I am only young once, let me enjoy my youth, let me have fun." It is understandable and there would be no parent or even no teacher who would wish to deny fun and enjoyment to the young people. But in every age, unless a good portion of the young people have, along with their fun and games, taken responsibility, unless they have had a sense of adventure which has enabled them to face risks, they cannot go forward, nor can the nation go forward.

Today we are a free country. But how are we free? Only because there were several generations of Indians who decided that freedom was more important than anything else in the world. It was more important than education, it was more important than better living. It was more important than not only family life, but even life itself. And because they felt that way, today we are free. This is not an experience which every country has gone through in fighting for freedom, and sometimes merely in making a life for themselves. Countries have grown up because people have gone from other countries, have laboured hard to create a basis on which civilized life could be built. If there had not been those pioneers putting up with those hardships these would not be advanced countries today.

This is the problem before us, whether we are willing to do something today for our own tomorrow. Does it mean hardship? That again is a question of how you look at things. Everything in life, whether it is happiness, whether it is entertainment, whether it is hardship, is a question of how you look at it in your mind. If you ask some of the people who were in the freedom struggle what their happiest times were, they will not say that they were the times when they were resting, or when they had gone to the hill station. They will say those were the times when they were suffering the most, when they were in solitary confinement in prison. And those are the times that they remember as happy times, because they were giving of their best to something they believed in. And that is really what happiness is. So, when we say that you give of your best today,

I do not really mean that you should have hardship. Because if you think you are doing the right thing, you will never think it is hardship, no matter what it means. Look at the mountaineer. What does he do? What does he not put up with to scale a mountain? Every step is agony, is hardship. It is difficult to breathe. There is danger of frostbite. There is danger of pneumonia. And yet he does it for fun, he is not being paid to do it. Nobody is forcing him to do it. He enjoys doing it, because it calls into play the best of his mind and his body and that is enjoyment. Everybody need not get enjoyment only through mountaineering. Some people get it through something else. No matter what we are doing, however small a thing it is, we should do it with all our heart and all our mind, and we should try to do more and more things which are for other people or other causes.

My father used to say that India grew in stature because during the Independence struggle so many people were involved in something that was very much bigger than themselves. And because they were involved in this bigger thing, they themselves became bigger, they could not help being bigger. They were normal, average, small people, who suddenly grew to being people of stature, merely because they were involved in doing something which was great. If we really want happiness, not only for ourselves, that is, personal happiness but happiness for the country, growth for the country and a better life for our children, then this is the attitude which we must develop amongst ourselves, in our families, in the communities in which we live.

In India, we have a very fine heritage, especially the women. We find that in times of difficulty, Indian women have always come out on top, have passed their "exams", so to speak. They have made the biggest sacrifice in keeping what they considered the honour of the country or the community. Today, I think, the nation does look again to women to give this lead. Today it does not mean making the highest sacrifice either in the literal sense of sacrificing one's life or even in the other sense of giving all one's time. But it means that no matter what one does, one looks at it from the point of view of the nation, the growth of the nation, the creation of a better atmosphere.

Perhaps you have read the preamble to the UNESCO Constitution. There is a phrase there which says, war begins in the mind of man. Unless there is hatred and anger in the mind of man, there cannot be war. But once anger and hatred come in, they lead to all kinds of things, including war. And just as war begins in the mind of man, so does peace or love or friendship or goodwill or anything else that you can think of. And to have these thoughts in the mind, as I said earlier, is something that a mother can very much influence in her child and in her entire family.

Now to the second point about what women can do for the country today. I heard your Principal talk about the need for diversifying diet and

perhaps taking to something like potato. Here what is important is not whether we eat a potato or some other kind of root, or foodgrain. What is important is to be adaptable. If one thing is not available, can we not make do with another thing? I have lived in other countries, where for some reason or other, some articles of food or clothing or something which people were accustomed to was not available. Now, did they hanker after the same thing or did they say: "Well, we don't have bread, we will eat potato. We don't have potato, we will eat something else." During the war in England I myself, along with all the population of the Isle, spent many months eating just oatmeal and carrots. There was no third thing available, whether salt, sweet or otherwise, no third thing at all. But believe me, nobody minded at all. Everybody felt that in cheerfully eating these two things, they were in a way being soldiers. They were helping in a tremendous war effort. Today anybody who in this way adapts himself or herself to the conditions which exist, and who is willing to make the small sacrifice, is a soldier in India's development. These small sacrifices are not less important than the bigger ones. Here again, the home is the foundation. And the home, as you know, is the oldest human institution and it will be there when all other institutions that we know are wiped out. It will still be there. So, the importance of the home is never going to diminish. It is up to us to make the home more livable, a place not only which supplies the needs of the body but also of the mind, and also which gives grace and elegance and brings beauty into our lives.

I note that you have enlarged the scope of home science. If I may say so, you have not enlarged home science, but are beginning to get into the sphere of home science. Because home science is not limited to food or shelter or the design of the house. They are important. But it includes everything else. A house is not a home. A home needs a personality who creates conditions in which people want to live, which makes them the better for living in that particular house, and that is a very wide field. I do not think anything is outside of home science, whether it is nutrition, whether it is designing, whether it is decoration, whether it is even being concerned with problems of the world. For if the mother does not know what is happening in the country and the world, then she is not an interesting person. If she is not an interesting person, she cannot keep the interest of her family, and she cannot make the home an interesting place to live in. So that actually home science covers the whole wide world.

Of course, I know that you cannot include all of it in your teaching. Nobody would expect you to. But I think your efforts must be to embrace as much of this as is possible, as funds permit, as teachers permit, as time permits. We must never think that the home is a narrow place. In fact, a British philosopher has wondered how this saying has gone about that the home is dull. He says: "The home is the only place where I can do what I like. So how can it be dull?" In every other place you have

to live within very many rules made by other people. But your home is the one place where you can make your own rules. So, if the home is dull then those people who have made the rules or who live in the home, those people must be dull. I have wandered much more than I had meant to. I want to come back to what I started with, namely, your tremendous possibilities. A big artist, a sculptor with a piece of clay, can do what he likes with it. You have your walls, many walls, but they can remain four walls, or they can become, as I said, a place of charm and beauty which helps you and your personality to flower, the personality of your children to grow and flower. Thus not only does the home become a better place but through the home the entire community and the country become a better place. What is the country except a collection of many millions of families? So, if we can get at the family and if we can improve family life, then the country itself benefits enormously.

Here you are all artists on the threshold of life. If you think that being adult means suddenly having a lot of privileges, you will be only half right. Because to be an adult suddenly means also the end of irresponsibility. It means that everything you do will bring more and more responsibility, and the more things you do, the more the responsibility, the heavier the burden. But I do not think anybody would want to say: "We would like to do the lowest job because that means less responsibility." Everybody will feel: "I want to get to the top." The only way to get to the top is to handle responsibility, to bear the burden, and not only to do it, but to enjoy it. Because no matter what you have in life, if you do not enjoy it, you might as well not have it, whether it is money, whether it is a house, whether it is a family or the way you live. The meaning of doing a job well or of bringing up a family well is to have this feeling of enjoyment in yourself and in all who stay with you. If you enjoy life you will find that the same thing which at one time you had thought perhaps was dull and a drudgery becomes a pleasure.

There are people who think cooking is dull, there are others who think it is the most wonderful thing and they would like to spend more time on it. Nothing is in itself dull or in itself pleasurable. It is what you make of it. Once there was a very big exhibition in Paris, I think in 1936, and on the gateway there was this inscription: "Whether I am a tomb or a treasure depends on you who enter here. Therefore do not enter with empty mind." And I would like to say the same to you about life — whether you find it a treasure or not depends on you. I sincerely hope that each one of you will enter it with the kind of feeling, the kind of mental attitude, which will make it an adventure for you, an interesting, enjoyable, pleasurable adventure. And if you go into it with that spirit, other people will find you interesting and enjoyable to meet and to talk to.

I would like to give my congratulations to all those who have won awards and prizes and who have passed their examinations and all those

who are yet to do so. To all of you my very, very best wishes for happiness. And may I, quoting the Chinese author Lin Yu-tang, say that happiness or luck may come to anybody but it is only if you have the character to use it that you can really hold it! Otherwise it just slips out of your hands. So, I wish you the character to make use of the opportunities and the luck which come your way.

Speech at the Foundation Day function of Lady Irwin College, New Delhi, November 11, 1967.

IV. India and the World

Rich Nations and Poor Nations

I am glad you have chosen this country for your deliberations. Here you will find the problems which all struggling nations face, and you will see them, if I may say so, projected on a giant screen. You will see them not as statistics but in the expectant glances of our bright-eyed young people and in the anxious faces of their elders. We are conscious that we bear the mark of the storms we have weathered. I hope you will also recognize the spirit of the country, a spirit which has seen our people through countless difficulties, natural calamities, manmade complexities. It is this spirit which has inspired our great men through the ages. Some of our problems are centuries old, and some are very new — parched land and bursting cities, illiteracy and brain drain.

For more than a hundred years, the most sensitive and perspective minds in our country have been obsessed with poverty and have striven to remove its causes. Our fight for freedom was itself part of the greater fight to liberate our people from the grip of poverty and the fear of economic insecurity. The vastness of our country makes the challenge so much the greater. Whatever we do, must be done for 560,000 villages. In the last fifteen years, we have almost doubled agricultural production, created thirty million jobs, put forty-five million more children in schools, added twenty years to the lifespan, and established a base of heavy industries, but we cannot even take time off to think of this as an achievement. We must go on with our work, for what is unfinished is so much larger than what is done.

In our unending labour, our consolation is that we are not alone. Through the long hard struggle for political independence, we were keenly aware of other nations and of peoples who also were oppressed by their fellowmen. We shared with them the indignities and humiliations of discrimination and exploitation — of this was forged a kinship. It has been our hope and constant endeavour that India should work not only for herself but for the larger world community. At the greatest moment of our lives, when we became free and sovereign, my father pledged us to the service of India. He said: "The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer. It means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity. . . . And so we have to labour and to work, and work hard, to give reality to our dreams. Those dreams are for India, but they are also for the world, for, all nations and peoples are too closely knit together today for any one of them to imagine that it can live apart. Peace has been said to be indivisible, so is freedom, so is prosperity now, and so also is disaster in this One World that can no longer be split into isolated fragments."

The United Nations was established twenty-three years ago to keep world peace and promote human prosperity. The juxtaposition of peace and prosperity is not a contrivance for stating moral precepts. The two are indissolubly linked together. Without peace there can be no

prosperity for any people, rich or poor. And yet, there can be no peace without erasing the harshness of the growing contrast between the rich and the poor. Unless we sense this urgency and use our energy to eradicate the economic causes which make for conflict, men and women will be impelled to revolt, and to use violent means to bring about change.

Wherever a wide gulf has divided the small section of the rich from the vast masses of the poor, the State has either imposed a forced peace on the opposing camps or faced instability from within. What has been true within a nation is equally valid for the international community. Apart from reducing the inequalities within their social structures, the developing nations must adopt modern technology to create a new balance of benefit to all their citizens. In this endeavour, can we not apply to the problems of the world community the accumulated experience of some of the member States of the United Nations who are now in the vanguard of progress? Can we not co-operate to give meaning and substance to the very concept of a world community? These are the questions before this Conference.

This is not the first occasion for the United Nations to address itself to the problems of world poverty and hunger. The Charter of this great organization calls upon it to work for the removal of want. To achieve this objective, a number of international organizations were set up. In December 1961, the General Assembly declared the sixties to be the Decade of Development. In June 1964, the first UN Conference on Trade and Development adopted its Final Act, a blueprint drawn up to achieve a better balance in international economic relationships. But we find that concrete action has fallen far short of its declaration. In the meantime, year by year, the needs of the developing nations are becoming more acute, more urgent.

Some success has of course been achieved. Funds raised by diverse methods have been invested in the process of development. Difficulties have been studied in depth, and the continuing machinery of this Conference has been engaged in a search for solutions. Under the able guidance of its distinguished Secretary-General, the Secretariat has produced valuable documents which I am sure you will find useful. The Group of 77 has even prepared a modest though practical programme of action. Naturally, hope is reawakened by the presence of so many distinguished statesmen from different parts of the world. But we are also haunted by the fear that a historic opportunity to set the world community firmly on the road to peace and prosperity might again be missed.

Are these fears altogether groundless? The Development Decade is drawing to a close. During the last years, most member States have laboured, individually or collectively, to promote economic advancement in underdeveloped countries. An average growth rate of 4.6 per cent

per annum has been achieved, but it dwindles to a mere 2 per cent, if we take into account the increases in population. Anyhow, the average growth rate is at best an imperfect measure of social and economic development. A much surer guide is the per capita income, on which the efforts so far made have had little impact. It is the human aspect — the opportunity for men and women everywhere to lead a fuller life — which is of the utmost importance. So long as the fundamental rights of millions of people in regard to employment, food, shelter and other needs remain unsatisfied, so long will their urge to rise to their full stature and serve their fellowmen remain unfulfilled.

This situation is a source of anxiety. The goal is distant. But impatience and dissatisfaction sap our will to persevere. Those who look upon development assistance as repayable charity will inevitably miss the expected gratitude from its beneficiaries. Those who view it as investment to earn political support or to collect dividends or to promote trade will be disappointed with the meagre returns. At the same time, growing numbers in the developing countries are beginning to look upon external capital and know-how, not as aids to their own strength and achievement of economic freedom, but as bonds which increase their dependence on dominant economies. We must all plead guilty to being tempted by the illusion that small efforts can yield big results. This is why we become disenchanted, and international economic co-operation is the first casualty. Thus, domestic pressures mount. Our affluent friends seek to curtail their contribution to development. In turn the recipients of aid retreat inwards.

Sovereign nations are gathered here. But in some cases the structure of their mutual economic relationship has been inherited from their colonial past. We are all familiar with the part colonialism has played in the exploitation of dependent countries. The dominant powers introduced modern science and industry to agricultural lands. But they developed only those segments of dependent economies which met metropolitan needs. They did not build the economic base for the development of material and human resources and of self-generating growth.

Today the rich nations find it more rewarding to invest their savings in their own security, in the advance of their technology, or even in establishing contacts with distant planets. They find it more interesting to trade amongst themselves than with the developing nations. Their markets and profit patterns are protected by tariff and nontariff barriers. The efforts of the less developed countries to process their natural products and increase their share of international trade in manufactured and processed goods are thus frustrated. The continuous onslaught of synthetics and substitutes further deprives poor nations of the resources they could derive from the use of their products.

Thus, the gap keeps growing. The technological and scientific

advances achieved by industrial nations accelerate this process. While industrial nations naturally use their resources to improve their technology, developing nations do not have even the means to borrow it. Even so, modern technology offers to the developing nations the possibility of avoiding the earlier stages of development and thus overcoming the challenge of poverty.

How can this possibility be realized? How can nations, now embarking on the difficult task of modernizing their economies, be helped to telescope their industrial effort — spread over two to three generations in most advanced countries — into a decade or two? How can they mobilize the immense capital needed for investment in developmental projects, while making at least some provision for social welfare? How long can the hope of a minimum improvement in the standard of personal consumption be postponed, when the people are so conscious of their rights as well as of the grim realities of their comparative situation? How can economic activities meet the requirements of efficiency and be geared to the achievement of rapid advance, while ensuring the dignity of the human being and guaranteeing to the individual full enjoyment of his fundamental rights?

These conflicts cannot be resolved in a day or even in a decade. Their solution demands patience, understanding, right motivation, and, above all, a far greater effort and bigger sacrifice than we have so far volunteered. Poverty corrodes the spirit of the poor and weakens their will to overcome it. The wealth of the prosperous grows in isolation and does not provide support to those who need it. The world economy has no built-in corrective. Economic processes must, therefore, be guided by a moral purpose and directed towards desirable ends by the political will of the international community. Otherwise only those nations which have inherited economic advantage from historical accidents can hope to achieve the maximum gains within the area of their political control.

Responsibility for development must primarily be shouldered by the developing nations themselves. Political domination over the process of development by nations which wield economic power is inconsistent with the provisions of the Charter to which we all subscribe. What we need is a global strategy of development, an integrated programme of international co-operation, which outlines convergent measures to be undertaken by every member State. The elimination of poverty and the development of impoverished regions are now widely accepted as international obligations. In order to discharge them, it is imperative that the international community finds ways and means to intervene effectively in defining the responsibility of economic power, in matching resources to needs, and in guiding economic forces towards progress and peace.

Distinguished delegates assembled here have the experience of the

last seven years of the Development Decade to guide them in their deliberations. Seven years is too short a period for mankind to tire or despair in this unprecedented endeavour. On the contrary, any shortcomings and inadequacies should spur us to a bigger and bolder effort. Remember, millions of people hopefully await your decisions — the growers of jute, copra and cocoa, the miners of manganese and tin, the spinners and the weavers, to mention only a few. Their future is at stake, their own livelihood and the lives of their children, as also the capacity of their governments to provide the base for development.

The consequences of failure are too terrible to contemplate. Years ago Rabindranath Tagore wrote: "Power has to be made secure not only against power, but also against weakness; for there lies the peril of its losing balance. The weak are as great a danger for the strong as quicksand for an elephant. They do not assist progress because they do not resist, they only drag down. The people who grow accustomed to wield absolute power over others are apt to forget that by so doing they generate an unseen force which some day rends that power into pieces." The question before the advanced nations is not whether they can afford to help the developing nations, but whether they can afford not to do so.

Poverty cannot be the destiny of the majority of mankind. I believe we have the power and the wisdom to give all these people new hope.

Address to the Second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, New Delhi, on February 1, 1968.

World Unity and Peace

The United Nations is the trustee of the world's peace and represents the hopes of mankind. Its very existence gives a feeling of assurance that the justice of true causes can be brought fearlessly before the world. This Assembly and the agencies of the United Nations should, in all that they do, sustain those hopes and promote the causes of peace.

Seven years ago, India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, addressed this Assembly. He was a believer in seeking areas of agreement and co-operation, and in enlarging them. He advocated before this Assembly a "new approach to co-operation and the furtherance of the co-operative effort." The Assembly accepted his suggestion of an International Co-operation Year. The United Nations also launched a Development Decade to promote greater economic co-operation between the rich and the poor nations. Two major international conferences on trade and development were held.

The interest shown by member States in these moves aroused great expectations among the developing countries. We did not seek to share the power of the big powers. We did not ask that they deny any of their own people their needs in order to fulfil ours. We, who have had twenty years or less of freedom to work for our progress, did not expect miracles of sudden transformation. Only too well do we know how long and hard is the path of development. What we do expect is understanding of the intangible yearnings of peoples who have long been under foreign domination.

Unfortunately, economic co-operation has little progress to show. Nor has there been any notable advance in international co-operation in the political sphere. The reasons for this failure are obvious and many: Economic and military power continue to dominate politics. The carving out of spheres of influence still motivates policies and actions. The desire to mould other nations in the image of one's own inspires propaganda, sowing seeds of mistrust. Nations continue to place narrow national ends above the larger purpose of peace and universal security.

In India we have been powerfully conditioned by Mahatma Gandhi. We believe that the evolution of individuals and societies depends on the extent to which they exercise self-restraint and abjure the use of force. Jawaharlal Nehru, who combined in himself modern political thought and the basic teaching of Mahatma Gandhi, strove to bring about a new system of relations amongst nations. He was tireless in advocating peaceful coexistence. He believed that in a world rent by conflict, freedom not fear, faith not doubt, confidence not suspicion would lead to friendship amongst nations.

The concept was evoking some response among statesmen and nations, and there was a growing recognition that howsoever difficult it might seem, peaceful coexistence alone could enable the postwar world to solve its disputes rationally. But this trend has received severe jolts.

Every now and then violence erupts. Sheer power seemingly prevails over principles, seeking obedience and demanding respect instead of commanding it. Indeed, those who have attempted to eschew the use of force have had to pay the price of restraint. And yet, the world is changing. Implicit faith in the efficacy of and unquestioning dependence on military alliances, as well as the rigidities of the bipolar world, are in a state of flux. Every nation, regardless of its size, is endeavouring to establish its own identity. This encourages the hope that despite obstacles the United Nations will be able to help all nations to live in peace and independence.

While there is search for a more equitable and humane world order, force continues to be used to attain political ends and to promote national or global interests. It is not my intention to deal with specific issues. Our views have been stated in this Assembly and elsewhere. But there are some which cannot be ignored. The continuance of the tragic conflict in Vietnam is a source of constant anxiety. We fervently hope that conditions will be created to enable the discussions to become more purposeful. The Vietnamese people must be assured of their inherent right to shape their destiny peacefully and without outside interference. We believe that the key to the next step still lies in the total cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam. In advocating this we are not actuated by a partisan spirit but by our sincere desire for peace and stability.

Another source of anxiety — the West Asian crisis — also needs to be resolved by political means. There is every opportunity for doing so, if it is recognized that the security, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the States in this part of the world cannot be based on the redrawing of State frontiers by force or on the basis of permanent hostility.

Essential for a peaceful settlement is the withdrawal of foreign forces from all Arab territories occupied in June last year. The process of the restoration of peace can begin and Ambassador Jarring's mission be fruitful only with the clear affirmation of this.

Equally explosive is the continued denial of basic human rights on grounds of race. The consciousness of the world community must be aroused not only against South Africa where racial discrimination has been elevated to the level of State policy, but against the emergence of racialism in any form in other areas. We must also firmly resist the last vestiges of colonialism. Our freedom and independence will not be complete so long as the people of South West Africa, Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea are denied theirs.

Recent events in Czechoslovakia have cast yet another shadow on the fragile structure for a new world order. The principles of noninterference by one State in the internal affairs of another, of scrupulous respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all States are

essential to the principle of peaceful coexistence. It is of the utmost importance that normal conditions should be restored without delay in Czechoslovakia.

If the use of force in international affairs is not renounced, and the rights of nations and the equality of races are not respected, how can tensions be reduced or the dangers of conflicts avoided? The world is caught in a vicious circle, because of which any viable international machinery to regulate relations between States is being progressively undermined and faces the danger of eventual collapse.

Nuclear weapons today represent the ultimate in force. Thus any attempt to eliminate force as the determining factor in international relations must begin with practical steps towards disarmament. But the nuclear menace has become an accepted fact of life and the world has developed a certain insensitivity to the nature of the threat. Despite every solemn resolution adopted by this Assembly, States continue to enlarge their capacity for nuclear war. The arms race and the search for more sophisticated weapons have rendered meaningless the concept of balance of power. Yet, every advance in military technology is accompanied by an effort to maintain a balance of terror. This encourages local wars and undermines the established political authority in States which are struggling to protect their freedom.

It is by restricting, reducing and eventually eliminating the growing nuclear menace that firm foundations of peace can be laid. The limited achievement of the partial Test Ban Treaty has been offset by the refusal of States to halt the testing of nuclear weapons. The problems of insecurity cannot be solved by imposing arbitrary restrictions on those who do not possess nuclear weapons, without any corresponding steps to deal with the basic problem of limiting stockpiles in the hands of a few powers. How can the urge to acquire nuclear status be controlled so long as this imbalance persists? Unless the powers which possess these weapons are prepared to exercise some self-restraint, collective efforts to rid the world of the nuclear menace cannot bear fruit.

We yearn for peace, not merely because it is good in itself, but because without peace there can be no improvement in the lives of the vast majority of the world's peoples. Development must receive the first priority and must be based on self-reliance. Our peoples expect their governments to build, in a generation, the apparatus of production and distribution which took the present advanced nations many centuries to install. Progress in technology and the acceleration of the processes of history will certainly help the developing nations to telescope the stages of their economic growth. But this acceleration works even more dramatically in favour of the affluent. The chasm between the rich and the poor nations, which is already a source of tension and bitterness in the world, is not decreasing but growing.

This situation is fraught with danger for the future well-being of our world. It is natural that we in the developing countries should be more aware of the peril than those who live in the affluent countries. The peril is on our doorstep, but it is not too far from theirs.

The world has changed, the membership of the United Nations has changed, but attitudes of mind have not. The representatives who are gathered here come from countries with distinct personalities. They have had great civilizations in the past — some known and some yet to be discovered. In the old colonial days, history, geography, culture and civilization were all viewed from a particular perspective. Even today to be civilized is held to be synonymous with being westernized. Advanced countries devote large resources to formulating and spreading ideas and doctrines and they tend to impose on the developing nations their own norms and methods. The pattern of the classical acquisitive society with its deliberate multiplication of wants not only is unsuited to conditions in our countries but is positively harmful.

Developing nations have their special problems, and there is much scope for co-operation amongst themselves. Some problems are common, but the conditions in each country differ, and the same remedy cannot be prescribed for all. Those who seek to advise us seldom realize that we need new and different answers to our problems. We need solutions which are suited to our conditions, not imitative theories or techniques grafted from outside. We must make our own analysis of developments and how to deal with them. International forums such as this Assembly and the specialized agencies of the United Nations give us the opportunity to place our views before the world. But of what avail is this if we cannot forge the solidarity which would command attention?

Our problems are such as did not confront the advanced nations when they were at a similar stage of economic development. Freedom awakens hope. It generates consciousness of economic, social and political rights. As literacy spreads, as modern communications and close contacts grow with affluent countries, new expectations and tensions are created.

In India, our effort has been to build democracy and to develop a technologically mature society. Each in itself is a formidable endeavour in a country of our size. Demands grow much faster than the means to fulfil them, but changes do not come about easily. Every step forward meets with impediments created by the forces of the *status quo*. Every step forward, even though intended to end inequality, leads to a phase where inequality becomes more obvious or new inequalities come into existence. Let me give an example. We have introduced universal primary education and expanded higher education. We have done so because education is the key to the ending of existing disparities; because it is the greatest influence for modernization and because it gives full scope to the flowering of the human personality. However, certain groups

and regions which are already comparatively better off are able to take greater advantage of the new facilities: for example, the urban areas more than the rural, the rich farmers more than the poor peasants.

The affluence of the industrialized nations itself attracts and exerts a certain pull on the more fortunate sections in the developing countries, further sharpening the difference between aspirations and their fulfilment. This in turn leads to the alienation of the *elite* from the rest of society, because they are attracted by the glamour of catching up with their opposites in the advanced countries while their own society cries out for bread.

We are not unaware of the important developments taking shape within the affluent countries themselves, where increasing numbers have begun to question the purpose of their lives. Poverty and want must be eradicated, for they degrade the human personality. On the other hand, the affluent society, as it has emerged, seems to have become entangled in its instruments. Dazzled by its own glitter, it has lost sight of the goals it set out to achieve. It is natural, therefore, that societies which have stressed the importance of material possessions should anxiously seek a balance between spiritual and material values. This is still an intellectual groping which lacks articulation, but one can sense it in the restlessness of younger people and students, in the various forms of protest against traditional or established authority. There is a desire to assert individuality in technological societies which are becoming more uniform and more impersonal. Abundance without commitment to ideals will sow the seeds of discontent and invite its own disruption. Prosperity must be integrated with a higher purpose, and it should be the endeavour of all nations — it certainly is ours in India — to achieve harmony between progress and the timeless values of the spirit. We are human and do not always succeed; but, as Mahatma Gandhi said: "Satisfaction lies in the effort, not in the attainment."

The individual is no longer content to entrust to others the shaping of his destiny; he wants to be the master of his fate. So also with nations, which, while co-operating with others, wish to develop and progress according to their own genius and tradition. The question is vital for developing nations, which still have time to chart their course. The methods they use, the directions they take, will determine their goals.

We welcome any genuine form of international co-operation for the development of underdeveloped areas. At its best, foreign aid represents such an endeavour. But can it not also be legitimately described as a form of enlightened self-interest on the part of aid-giving countries, especially when it is tied with the purchase of equipment and of know-how from donor countries? In India, aid accounts for only a fifth of our total investment in development. Economic progress is not possible without investment. Not all the investment for Europe's progress

came from the sweated labour of European workers and farmers. It came also from the peoples of Asia, Africa and South America who were denied a fair return for their work and their produce. Empires have ended, but the colonial pattern of economy remains with us in one form or another. As exporters of primary agricultural produce and minerals, we know to our cost how the terms of trade have steadily gone against us. Aid is only partial recompense for what their superior economic power of the advanced countries denies us through trade. Trade has the further advantage of placing greater responsibility on the developing nations, leading them towards self-reliance. I urge the nations assembled here to give their fullest support to the work initiated by the two United Nations Conferences on Trade and Development and to persuade the strong to dismantle the economic walls which they have built to defend themselves from the weak. In so doing they will be fortifying the defences of peace before it is too late.

These are the factors which cause tensions and bitterness, which divide society and lead it away from co-operation and the paths of peace. Fear grips large parts of the world. Sages in my land exhorted us to be free from that which made us afraid, anticipating by thirty centuries those famous words of our own times, that there is nothing to fear but fear itself. No people were so cowed down as my countrymen before Mahatma Gandhi came on the scene. India was able to wrest freedom because he taught us to overcome fear and hatred and to be absorbed in a cause which was greater than ourselves.

We in India are attuned to the idea that the paths to truth are many and various. An attempt to remake the world in any one image will not be countenanced by the majority of mankind. Our age has been called the space age, but I would call it the age of the people. Revolutionaries, liberators and political leaders have always talked of the people, but for the first time now, "we the people" does not mean a few representing the many, but the masses themselves, each of whom is poignantly conscious of his individuality, each one of whom is seeking to assert his rights and to voice his demands.

Through the ages, man has struggled against vastly superior forces. The one constant has been his indomitable spirit. He has pitted his puny frame against nature. He has fought against tremendous odds for freedom, for his beliefs, for an idea or an ideal. Endowed with such a spirit, will man abdicate in favour of the machine or bow to the dominance of tyranny in new garbs? Men have been tortured, men have been killed, but the idea has prevailed.

Two years hence, in 1970, the United Nations will complete twenty-five years. *Can we make it a Year of Peace?* A starting point of a united endeavour to give mankind the blessings of a durable peace? To this end, let us devote ourselves.

One of our ancient prayers says:
Common be your prayer;
Common be your end;
Common be your purpose;
Common be your deliberation.

Common be your desires;
Unified be your hearts;
United be your intentions;
Perfect be the union among you.

Address to the General Assembly of the United Nations, October 14, 1968.

Evolution of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy cannot be divorced from a country's internal policy. Any country, any government, any political party must decide what it believes in, and all its policies must then flow from this basic conviction or belief. What is our foreign policy? Some people take "nonalignment" to be the whole of our foreign policy. In a way it is not the word "nonalignment", but what nonalignment stands for, namely, that we believe in independently judging all issues. We do not wish to be tied to any group or to any country.

We are today nearer the twenty-first century than the nineteenth. But, unfortunately, we find that over large portions of the world, thinking is still very much in the nineteenth century. The world has changed; we helped to change it because of India's freedom movement, because of India becoming free, and other countries in Asia and Europe becoming free. This has been the greatest change in the world. Although it was obvious to us that we would become free and that our freedom would lead to the freedom of other countries, this process came somewhat as a shock to the colonial powers.

For some time they seemed to be stunned by that shock, but it did not take long for them to recover. And since they have recovered, we see another very subtle change coming over the world, rather dangerous change. Colonialism — open, frank, honest colonialism — has given way to a veiled neocolonialism. This has actually happened in some places, and in other places there have been attempts that it should happen.

Therefore, the difficulties before the developing countries are still very great. We can face them not merely by idealism, not by sentimentalism, but by very clear thinking and hardheaded analysis of the situation. I am glad that the seminar has had the benefit of the analyses of the people who have spoken here about different problems in different parts of the world. I am told there were certain criticisms. We are used to criticism of our foreign policy because any independent path is so much more difficult to pursue and so much more difficult for the people to understand, than if we follow some beaten path.

There are those who say that nonalignment has not served our purpose, or that it has not been a success. What is the alternative? Obviously, that we should be aligned. If we should be aligned, with whom should we be aligned? The two major blocs are what are commonly known as the Eastern and Western blocs. Should we be aligned with the Eastern bloc? Before we go on to alignment, we must recognize that alignment has developed many cracks in the last few years in both the blocs. Should we join any of these cracked blocs?

The question may be posed: "Do we join the Western bloc? Do we join their military alliances? Or, do we join the Eastern bloc and their military alliances?"

I am sure anybody who looks clearly at this picture will immediately

come to the conclusion that it would not be in our interest to join any of the blocs. Therefore, we come back to the third position, which is outside of the blocs. I do not think it is an idealistic position. I think it is the only hard-headed, practical path that is open to any country which wants to keep itself independent.

Many of those who have been against nonalignment all these years and who criticized my father and myself for trying to pursue this path do not now attack nonalignment as such, but say that we are not truly nonaligned. The big attack today, the greatest weapon which is used against our foreign policy, is to say that in effect we are following the Soviet line. Perhaps they think their saying so will frighten us into trying to give up our friendship with the Soviet Union. Perhaps they hope that they would be able to blow up the image of independence which we have amongst our own people and in the world. Let us be very clear that, regardless of what our big newspapers say here, the image of India is very clear outside. It is not an image of a country which follows any group or country; it is an image of a country standing or trying to stand squarely on its own feet. It does not mean that they always think we are right. Many of the countries think that we make mistakes. And on many occasions we do go wrong. On all the occasions when we seem to support the Western countries, it is the Eastern group which says we have gone wrong, or we have not been strong enough. On those occasions when we have supported the Soviet Union, or, more likely, the Asian-African countries, the Western world thinks we have gone wrong.

On one occasion, the American Ambassador complained to me that we had supported the Soviet Union on more occasions in the United Nations than we had supported other countries. I said: "Let us look at each occasion." I did not have details with me there and then, because this remark was made at a party. But I said: "If you look at the occasions on which we have seemed to side with the Soviet Union, what do you find? Were they not the issues on which India and the developing countries were vitally interested? And if this was so, would it not be more true to say that the Soviet Union had supported the stand taken by the developing countries, by the African and Asian countries, and not that we had gone out of our way to support the Soviet Union?" Afterwards I put this question to the Ministry of External Affairs, and when we actually counted up, we found that it was not even true to say that we had voted with the Soviet Union on more occasions than we had voted with the other countries. Even the basic point which the Ambassador had made did not turn out to be correct.

So the tendency to make sweeping generalizations is very greatly prevalent, perhaps everywhere. We can only see the situation in our country. And the tendency to see a subject or a particular issue superficially without studying the background is also rather prevalent

among the oppressed and other sections of the people here. Therefore, it is important to go into each subject in some depth.

Basically, what do we want from our foreign policy? What is the ideal we pursue? Is that ideal divorced from the practical interest of the country, or is it allied with it? As it happens, our ideal and practical interests are the same. No government can afford, however idealistic it may be, to leave or neglect the practical interests of the country.

We have believed — and we do believe now — that freedom is indivisible, that peace is indivisible, that economic prosperity is indivisible. And these are the fundamentals on which our foreign policy is based. We have stood for the freedom of all countries. Even when we were not free, when we were in no position to help other countries, we went out of our way to give them whatever moral and other support we could. And I know, that moral support was welcomed and it did help these countries. Today we take the same stand. We know that joining together with the Afro-Asian group is not going to immediately strengthen any of the countries which belong to that group. But we know that there is no other way of strengthening them either. We share the common problems, common difficulties, common threats. And we can face them only by trying to stand on our own feet, by having stability within our country, and by economic progress. We think we can have stability and progress only if we take a particular economic path — the path of socialism through which we bring social justice to our people. It is the same social justice in the international sphere for which we stand. We believe that while there are poor nations and rich nations, there is bound to be tension. There is not only tension between the poor and the rich, but there is tension also among the rich because of their desire to control or to influence the developing nations. This is how in the past most wars took place, and this is the reason for much of the tension today. Yet, you find that in spite of this tension, again and again, countries try to follow the path which we have advocated, namely, the path of conciliation and of trying to solve problems by means of negotiation rather than by war.

In my Independence Day speech I spoke about two recent events. No two countries could have fought more bitterly than the Soviet Union and Germany. There have been many wars, but I do not think one has seen such tremendous bitterness in any two countries except in the war which took place between these two, because the fighting was not merely between two nations, it was not merely province to province, in Stalingrad it was a house-to-house fighting which was almost a fight for each brick of the city of Stalingrad. Perhaps you still remember that while men were fighting, the women were picking up the bricks to show that Stalingrad could stand and fight the war. So you can understand what tremendous feeling and personal involvement there was among the people. And yet, today, these two countries have been able to have

an agreement to try and solve their difficulties or problems through talking them openly, forgetting that bitterness, that hatred, which was not a hatred of a few years, but a hatred that went a long way into history. Yet they made this agreement. Nobody knows whether the talks will succeed. Naturally we would like them to succeed. But even if they do not, a very important step has been taken, a step which, according to our policy, we have been trying to follow in our country and in other countries. Similarly, there has been an acceptance of the method of negotiation in what we call Western Asia and what in the Western world is called the Middle East.

Now foreign policy has to be based on a country's historical and geographical background. That is, we see the world from where we are. Other countries see the world from where they are. So we cannot possibly see it from exactly the same angle. We have certain countries for our neighbours. So, the relationship we have with our neighbouring countries is important. If we are a long way from other countries, we can look at them from different angles.

We also find that in the making of the foreign policy of any country, and perhaps specially of India, there are certain intangible elements which are just as important or decisive in forming our point of view. It is perhaps easier to pursue a foreign policy and fashion relations with other countries if one is a rich and a powerful nation. Now India is not a rich or a powerful nation, and we have to keep that in view. It is no use going as we are. But we have made up for our lack of riches and power with some other quality.

Earlier, because we were in the forefront of the freedom struggle, it gave us a certain influence; also, because we had leaders of stature who were able to give inspiration to other countries which were in similar position as we were. Today that situation has changed. All these countries have been free for a number of years; they are all trying to stand on their own feet and none of them would like to be guided by any other country. They would like to have friends, but they would not like to feel that any one country is superior to them. We ourselves perhaps would not like that position. So we can understand that other countries, and especially countries which are smaller, do not like that position, and we should be very careful that at no time we give an impression that we are wanting to take a leading position. That would immediately mean that we are trying to push them towards a somewhat backward position.

So, when we find ourselves in the situation which we are in, that is, in an extremely difficult economic and political situation where you do not have power, then either you have to stand firm on your convictions and try to strengthen yourself, or you strengthen yourself through alliances. As I said earlier, there are people in our country who think that we could ally ourselves with some people and perhaps that way we would be safer.

I do not think that such borrowed strength can be real strength; and I think the feeling of security which one would get from that could be rather deceiving. It would not be real security, and it would deceive us into a feeling of complacency and lead us into certain dangerous situations later on. I think the only security is to strengthen our own people and to be confident of ourselves.

I mentioned earlier the intangible elements. These are conviction, courage and national pride. And I would not like anybody to think that the pride which I have in view is the very chauvinistic, narrow-minded pride which is put forward sometimes by some parties in our country which think that national pride consists of getting offended or feeling insulted at the slightest thing that happens. It is only a weak nation lacking self-confidence which feels insulted by other people. Nobody can be degraded except by his own actions; no country can be degraded except by the country's own behaviour and action. And being poor or weak, in the way we are poor and weak, is not degrading. It is not a good thing and we must change that state of affairs, but by itself it is not a degrading thing. If because of our poverty and our economic condition and our lack of military or other strength, we were to allow ourselves to give up what is in the national interest, that would be degrading.

And what are we doing? We are trying to strengthen ourselves. We have strengthened ourselves, perhaps slowly; but step by step, over the years, we have strengthened ourselves not only in the military sense but also in the economic sense. Further, we have stood by what we believe in, regardless of its consequence, in all the forums of the world and that is why we are respected today. Nobody is going to think ill of us because we come to an understanding with some smaller countries if we have some difference of opinion with them. On the contrary, people will blame us for trying to throw our weight about, or trying to pressurize small countries if we have any differences with them. Of course, in all such matters, the national interests and the national honour must come first, but we must not confuse this with any narrow chauvinistic attitude.

I think it was some British statesman who said that no country is a permanent foe or a permanent friend. Any country must try to be friends with as many countries as possible. Our policy is to strengthen our friendship, to change indifference into friendship, and to lessen hostility where it exists. Sometimes the assertion is made that India has no friends. This is the most peculiar statement which I have heard. I would like to say that if we are counting friends, which country has got friends? I have heard from practically every power — and I include in this some of the very big superpowers — the same complaint that they have no friends. It just depends on how you count. What is the yardstick for measuring friendship? It is possible that one of the senses in which people

have understood friendship is how many countries will come and help us when we have a war. How many countries, whom we call friends, would really be able to help? The fact is that India today has about as many friends as any other country has. How we keep those friends or whether they remain friends is not dependent merely on what we do, but what happens to be their national interests at any given time. If it is in their interests to be friends with us, they will be friends, and if it is not in their national interests, it does not matter what we do, they still will not be our friends. So, we must try to increase the area of our friendship, but all the time we have to be prepared for any other situation when a country may not be a friend or a country which is not our friend may decide for various reasons to become our friend. Our whole attitude must be flexible in all these matters.

It does not help us at any time to merely speak ill of a country. If we want to do something against a country now, let us make up our minds and take some steps. But while we are not taking such steps, or do not consider such steps desirable, it does not serve any useful purpose merely to shout about that country. Even the biggest of the superpowers has found that war should be avoided. They have proceeded in such a manner that they have got into trouble and all their armies, all their power, all their influence, has not been able to help them to get out of the mess. The basic conviction and belief in certain ideas cannot change. That is a constant whether it is in the domestic policy or in the foreign policy.

As I said earlier, courage and conviction must be allied to an astute, hard-headed analysis of international affairs and events. At all times this analysis has to be devoid of emotion and sentiment. We have found that the very growth of military power in the hands of a few countries is producing its own antithesis. There are nations with military stockpiles of unimaginable destructive potential which are today unable to use that power. One gunboat could do much more in olden times than what very much greater arsenals are able to do today, because of the fear of the consequences of using them.

We are friends today with the United States and the USSR as with a lot of other countries. We are helped by many of these countries and we have tried not to be dependent on any one of these countries. We have tried to diversify even the buying of essentials from different countries and, at the same time, to try and become self-sufficient and to stand on our own feet. But, in today's world, no country can be absolutely independent of another. It is a world of interdependence. You can be interdependent only if you are secure in your freedom. If you give up part of your freedom, that relationship changes; then it is not interdependence; it becomes something else; it becomes a form of — well, I would not say slavery — some form of colonialism comes in. In the life of a city or anywhere else in earlier days, each person or each group was

very much more self-sufficient. They produced everything they needed. They were content with what they could produce. Each community became a sort of complete unit. Today it is not so. Each city is dependent on some other cities; each State is dependent on other States to a certain extent. The same is the situation in the world at large. We may get some of our necessary things from the developed countries but the developed countries can also not exist without a great deal of things from the other countries. We have to see that the relationship is such that it cannot force us into any position which is not in our interest. This is where we have to be firm, and that is why we want to be self-reliant in all the essentials so that at no time can anybody say: Well, you need this, you cannot get it until you do such and such thing. This is the position which we have avoided and which we shall continue to avoid. Although we get many essential things from other countries at no time has this forced us to change our policy in any manner at all. We have stuck to whatever we believe in and the world has respected us for it.

So, when the United States or the Soviet Union helps us either through financial credits, which are wrongly termed as "aid", or by enabling us to produce industrial and defence equipment, we presume that they do it out of their own national self-interest. But our own national interest compels us to build up our economic and defence strength with the help of whoever is prepared to help us to do so and to help us to stand on our own feet. Therefore, we will not allow ourselves to be led away either by the anti-Soviet hysteria or by the anti-America hysteria.

I am going to Lusaka next week to attend the Conference of Nonaligned Nations, and the question has frequently been asked in the last few weeks: "What good will this Conference be and what do we hope to get out of it?" I personally think that the very fact of meeting a large number of Heads of State and sharing experiences with them is a very useful event. While we try to keep in touch with people through letters and through our embassies, this does not and cannot take the place of personal contact, and personal discussions, not only in the forum of the Conference, but individually and informally. So this by itself would be a very important reason for holding such a conference.

It is amazing to see that when the nonaligned Asian and African nations get together, some newspapers find all kinds of words such as "jamboree" and "picnic", but when other nations get together, then those words are never used. They say they have a serious meeting or a common problem. We do not have common problems, of course. And what is more amazing is that even when all predictions turn out wrong there is no hesitation to go in the same path and make the same predictions again. But nobody now is taken in by this kind of comment or the kind of reaction. We know that many of the allied countries do not like this nonaligned group to exist, whether they are on the one side or the

other. Neither of them like it. Most of these superpowers would like to have spheres of influence. Although we are very friendly with them, we do not agree with this attitude of theirs, and we are certainly not going to help them to have this kind of sphere of influence. The only sphere of influence we want is one of friendship and of mutual help, and I think that in the kind of conference of the nonaligned, which is being held in Lusaka, there can be mutual help especially in the economic sphere. It is not easy because, although many of the problems are the same, conditions are different and there are many pressures on all of these countries. But if we are able to help one another even to understand the pressures to a small extent, I think this Conference will have served a useful purpose. So we meet together to reinforce our economic and political independence, and to tell the world that we want to throw our weight in favour of peace. We do not want a balance of power in favour of power, but in favour of peace.

I do not want to go here into the particulars of our dealings with various nations. But I would like to say that it is possible through friendship to outmanoeuvre hostility. And this, indeed, if you read Indian history, is the sum total of our tradition from the days of the Buddha and Emperor Ashoka right down to our own times of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. These great personages have shown us the essence of our tradition and Gandhiji specially brought it out from the safe-keeping of an ideal into the very business of daily living, the hurly-burly of political and economic policy. I think it would be a very great mistake to give this up for what may be considered to be a temporary gain as some of our friends of the Right and sometimes our friends of the Left keep advising us to do.

We have seen that our people have risen and have stood and worked as one man in every crisis which the nation has faced, and it is this knowledge that we in India shall defend our freedom, if need be with our bare fists, that has acted as a deterrent to those who may have other thoughts about it. But if we permit this will and determination to be weakened and softened by internal conflict, then no amount of arms will help us. Arms used by people without conviction cannot provide any credible backing for foreign policy. Therefore, while we must have arms to defend our country from any aggression, these arms, this military strength, must be backed by conviction in our ideals and confidence in ourselves. Both are equally great weapons and without them the other weapons can be dangerous to ourselves and can also be impotent in helping to defend ourselves.

This is the essence of our foreign policy. And if we understand this essence and maintain it, we have a certain amount of manoeuvrability. Why do the Government of India not wish to make categorical statements sometimes? Because it is not in our interest to be known as being

stuck in any given position. When we are rigid, it helps those who are against us. They will have manoeuvrability and can move about, while we are stuck. We become a good target for anybody.

Therefore, we must have a certain amount of flexibility and manoeuvrability. But, as I said, it must be consistent with national interest and honour, and we cannot manoeuvre or change where basic convictions and basic ideals, aims and objectives are concerned. If we keep this in view, I think, India will not only keep her position but will be able to enhance it in the world. I certainly hope that all of you who are present here, or all other members of our great party, will be able to give this knowledge and understanding to our country and to our people. It is not enough to reach the educated whom we can reach through seminars, but you must go to the villages and the rural areas to explain these matters to the rural people, tell them how closely foreign policy is connected with domestic policy, how closely what happens in far away countries affects things that happen in our country. It is only then that we shall be able to have that united force which can make our country great.

Speech at a seminar on "Some Aspects of Our Foreign Policy" organized by the Congress Party in Parliament and the AICC, New Delhi, August 31, 1970.

Meaning of Nonalignment

We are glad that this Nonaligned Conference is meeting for the first time in Southern Africa, close to the spirit, the mood and the very heartbeat of Africa.

Here in Lusaka we can feel the ebb and flow of the continuing battle against remnants of colonialism in Angola and Mozambique. We can feel the vibrations of the struggle against the minority Government in Zimbabwe, and the apartheid policies of the racist regime in the Union of South Africa, and of the stirrings of the national movements in Namibia and in Guinea Bissau. These freedom fighters are engaged in the same battle as we were only recently. They are risking their lives for the same principles that we hold dear. We extend our support to these brave men and women.

The revolution of our times is unfinished, and the purpose of this Conference is to draw up a clear programme of action to carry it forward. This is the challenge that the decade of the seventies places before the nonaligned countries.

Only a short while ago, the issues of war and peace, of the disposal of human beings and their destinies, were decided in a few capitals of the world. No longer is it so; because millions of people in the resurgent continents of Asia, of Africa, of Latin America and the Caribbean have come into their own; because we determined that decisions involving us, whether concerning war and peace, or the direction and pace of our social, economic and political development, could be made only by us, in our own way, and in our own countries. That is how nonalignment was born. It expressed our individual and collective sovereignty, our devotion to freedom and peace, and our urgent need to give to our people a better life and the opportunity to live in freedom, in dignity and in peace. At no time was there any intention to set up a third bloc.

This is our endeavour. The odds are tremendous. Each step has met with criticism and opposition. But we have carried on. Let us not be deterred by cynics and the hostile propaganda of the powerful media of communications. From the beginning, there has been no lack of inquisitors who looked upon nonalignment as heresy and distorted its meaning. They said it would not work. But we can answer back in the famous words of Galileo: "And yet — it moves!"

The criticism of nonalignment has shifted on two counts. Those who now concede that nonalignment had some utility in the days of the cold war confrontation maintain that this is no longer so. The reviling is not any more about the basis and principle, but of its practice.

Have the nonaligned States lost their relevance? The answer is an emphatic no. Twenty-five years after the last holocaust, the world is not yet on the brink of peace. The nuclear balance of terror still confronts us. The war in Vietnam is said to be waged with "conventional" weapons, yet these include chemical contamination of food and plant life. The

only way to have a clean war is not to have a war at all. Hence India stands and works for total disarmament.

The great powers certainly have the major responsibility for international peace and security. We welcome all initiatives towards the resolution of differences through negotiations, but even if they reach accord on their common interests, and decide upon mutually acceptable limitation of strategic arsenals, the rest of the world, of which we form a considerable part, could hardly remain mere onlookers. We have an equal stake in peace, but the quality of this peace should be such as will ensure our own sovereignty and security.

Not only national honour but national interest demands that we do not mortgage our decisions in domestic and in international affairs to foreign dictate. This was one element of our policy of nonalignment. As its logical corollary, we rejected the enmities of our erstwhile rulers. As my father declared: "We are in no camp and in no military alliance. The only camp we should like to be in is the camp of peace which should include as many countries as possible." May I thank the Conference for its gracious gesture in memory of my father and the many distinguished delegates for their kind references to him?

We decided that our respective territories should not be used for the subjugation of other people, for subversion, or for the carving out of spheres of influence. Indian manpower and resources had been used for imperialist purposes. Once free, we declared that this would no longer be permitted.

We have all been subjected to domination, exploitation and the humiliation of racial discrimination. How could we compromise with racialism in any form? The pernicious theory that one man is superior to another merely on the ground of race or birth has been proved to be false, yet it continues to dominate the thinking of many.

Today's world is a single entity. We are deeply convinced that by staying out of military pacts, the nonaligned countries can use their collective wisdom and influence to tip the balance of power in favour of peace and international co-operation.

These have been the positive achievements of nonalignment. If today belief in the efficacy of military pacts has weakened, if historic animosities are giving way to essays in friendship and co-operation, if a breath of realism is influencing international policies towards *detente*, the nations assembled here can claim some credit. However, this should not lull us into complacency.

The big powers have never accepted the validity of nonalignment. Neither colonialism nor racialism has vanished. The old comes back in new guise. There are subtle intrigues to undermine our self-confidence and to sow dissension and mutual distrust amongst us. Powerful vested interests, domestic and foreign, are combining to erect new structures of

neocolonialism. These dangers can be combated by our being united in our adherence to the basic tenets of nonalignment.

I have touched upon certain general points, but, on such an occasion, one cannot ignore some of the explosive situations which confront the world.

I should like to take this opportunity to convey our admiration and best wishes to President Nasser for his statesmanship and courage in accepting the cease fire. We disapprove of Israel's intransigence. Israel should be prevailed upon to comply fully with the UN Security Council Resolution of November 1967. We cannot deny to the people of Palestine their inalienable right to the homelands from which they were exiled.

The situation in South-east Asia has further deteriorated. We are deeply concerned about the spreading of the conflict to Cambodia. All foreign forces should withdraw from the various countries of Indochina, the lead being given by the USA. Our assessment, based on talks with the various parties concerned, has led us to believe that a broad-based government comprising all elements of South Vietnam would pave the way for the success of the Paris talks. Recent developments in Laos indicate the possibility of talks between the two sides there. As Member and Chairman of the International Commission, we have offered our good offices to both the concerned parties for this purpose. To preserve peace and to provide for the reconstruction of this war-torn area, some kind of international convention or agreement should be signed by all the parties concerned as well as the great powers and other interested parties to ensure respect for the neutrality, independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of all the Indochina States.

We have been deeply disturbed by the reported intention of the United Kingdom and other governments to supply arms to the Government of South Africa. This dangerous and retrograde step will threaten the neighbours of South Africa and also the Indian Ocean area. Any accretion to South Africa's military capability will abet its policy of apartheid and racial discrimination, and may encourage it to annex other territories. The argument that this is being done to protect the so-called security of sea routes is untenable. We would like the Indian Ocean to be an area of peace and co-operation. Foreign military bases will create tension and great-power rivalry.

The spirit of freedom goes hand in hand with the spirit of equality. Beyond the political problems of the Unfinished Revolution, there are complex and difficult economic tasks. However, a realistic appraisal of our natural resources, our capacities and our competence reveals the possibility of our working together to reduce our dependence on those who do not respect our sovereignty so that economic leverage for thinly disguised political purposes cannot be used against us. Neocolonialism has no sympathy with our efforts to achieve self-reliance. It seeks to perpetuate

our position of disadvantage. International markets are so manipulated that primary producing countries have a permanent handicap. The levers of technology also are operated against us through unequal collaboration and royalty agreements.

Hence we have to redouble our effort to gain for each nation the opportunity to develop to its full stature. The primary responsibility rests upon each developing country, but we also owe a duty to one another. The fallacy that there is no complementarity between our economies has so far made it difficult to realize the undoubted potential of mutual co-operation. There is greater complementarity amongst our economies than between the economies of developed nations. Yet, advanced nations have been more successful in forging instruments of co-operation amongst themselves and our own effort in this direction has not even begun. The potential of trade and economic co-operation amongst us has been left virtually unexplored. By meeting each other's needs, we would diversify our trade, safeguard it against the caprices of international commerce, and reduce our dependence on middlemen and brokers.

This Conference should formulate the manner in which we could strengthen one another, and give due priority in our national policies to positive measures for mutual co-operation. Such co-operation will help each of us to find some solutions to our respective problems, and also give us the capability to induce these changes in the economic system at the global level.

Through the United Nations' Conference on Trade and Development, we have tried to persuade the international community to make changes which have been overdue in the economic system. This is now well understood all over the world. But only some have been accepted in principle, and even their implementation has been tardy. In a few weeks, the Second Development Decade will be launched by the UN General Assembly. So far, there has been little progress in evolving guidelines for international co-operation. Many nations which have the capacity and, if I may say so, the duty to make a decisive contribution, hedge their statements with reservations. For too long has international co-operation been viewed as a one-way traffic from the rich to the poor nations.

As the Prime Minister of Guyana said, between ourselves we possess the major part of the world's natural resources. Our manpower resources are no less plentiful. It should not be beyond our ingenuity to develop these resources, and employ the manpower for the production of wealth for our peoples. Because of historical circumstances, economic relations have not been developed as among ourselves, but between each of our countries and the erstwhile metropolitan powers. We can now make the first attempts to discover areas of co-operation in many fields of development — generation of power, development of agriculture, improvement of roadways, railways and telecommunications,

the expansion of higher education and training in science and technology. If we decide — and I hope we shall — to make a beginning with this study, India will be glad to play her modest part.

We all recognize the malaise afflicting the development process. We know of the growing gap between developed and developing countries, between the northern and southern hemispheres, of the indifference of the affluent, the disappointments of the First Development Decade, and the failure of the affluent countries to transfer even one per cent of their gross national product. We are painfully familiar with the pitfalls of "aid", in which the bulk of credits are tied to purchases from donor countries, and with the fact that a big portion of new credits goes to the repayment of old loans. But the question is: Must we endlessly wait in the hope that some day the developed countries will undergo a change of heart and acknowledge that disparities in the world are not in their own interest? It would be unrealistic to expect miracles of magnanimity. Even if this should happen, I am afraid that it would be of no avail, in the absence of the right conditions in our own countries. We must work together on a bilateral, regional and multilateral basis.

From my own experience, I have learnt that will-power, unceasing endeavour and the capacity for sacrifice sustained and strengthened us during our struggle for political independence. These same qualities will help us towards economic freedom.

The power to question is the basis of all human progress. We are free because we questioned the right of others to rule over us. But intellectual and cultural emancipation is just beginning. We are rediscovering ourselves, and the fact that a country sees things in terms of its own geography and history. Those who dominated the world's political affairs, and manned its economic controls, also imposed a monopoly of ideas. For years we accepted their values, their image of the world and, strangely enough, even of ourselves. Whether we like it or not, we have been pushed into postures of imitation. We have now to break away from borrowed models of development and evolve models of the worthwhile life which are more relevant to our own conditions — not necessarily as a group but as individual countries with distinctive personalities.

The world today is united in peril, not merely the peril from nuclear destruction but the more insidious daily pollution of our environment. We should be united in prosperity, and in the blossoming of the spirit of man. The nonaligned countries must be in the vanguard of the movement to create the world of tomorrow and to enrich the content of human life.

The Unfinished Revolution can reach fulfilment if we have faith and confidence in ourselves and the assurance that, however long and arduous the journey ahead, we shall reach our destination.

Speech at the Third Conference of Nonaligned Countries held at Lusaka, September 9, 1970.

Outlook for Mankind

I bring to the United Nations the greetings of one-seventh of mankind, the people of India.

This jubilee celebration is tinged with anxiety and the mood is one of self-examination. The United Nations was born out of the experience of the Second World War, and out of a desire "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war," and to promote universal respect for fundamental human rights and international justice. Its founders were conscious of the attempt of a previous generation to build the League of Nations, and of the reasons for its collapse.

Franklin D. Roosevelt declared that the United Nations spelt "the end of the system of unilateral action and exclusive alliance, and spheres of influence, and balance of power and all the other expedients which have been used for centuries and which have failed". "We propose," he went on to say, "to substitute for these a universal organization which all peace-loving nations will have a chance to join."

Twenty-five years later, the principle of the universality of the United Nations membership does not yet prevail. The system of unilateral action and exclusive alliances has not been disowned. Spheres of influence and balance of power continue to actuate the policies of many nations, even though they fail to produce the desired results.

Thus the United Nations has been afflicted by the same malady as the League of Nations, that is, the attempt to direct and control its activities and to use it as an instrument for national ends. To the extent it could be so used, it was applauded, and when it did not serve such a purpose, it was ignored.

The right of a people to choose their form of government is accepted in name only. In reality, there is considerable interference in the internal affairs of many countries. The powerful make their presence felt in many ways, relentlessly attempting to enlarge their spheres of influence. The extension of their military commitments to new areas inevitably attracts counteraction by other powers. The limited wars which we have witnessed in the last twenty-five years are the consequence of such policies.

Two such conflicts have dragged on for years, in the Middle East and in Vietnam. Our views have been reiterated here a few days ago. In the Middle East the relevant question is whether, in our age, we can allow the frontiers of States to be changed by force of arms. We feel that territories occupied by force must be vacated. That is why we support the Security Council Resolution of November 1967. Peace and security can come only with neighbourliness and understanding.

Recently one set of proposals was made by President Nixon on Vietnam, and another by the Provisional Revolutionary Government. Some common ground must be found between the two proposals. We hope that they are not regarded as final by either side. Perhaps an agreement on the complete withdrawal of all foreign forces, beginning with

American forces, can lead to purposeful negotiations.

The United Nations has not been able to prevent these wars or bring about a settlement. But it has been the peacemaker in several conflicts. It has provided a useful mediating agency and meeting place where arrangements have been hammered out. Even those who feel that the United Nations has not fulfilled its original hopes do recognize that the world needs an international organization which will work for peace and the peaceful resolution of conflicts. If the United Nations were to disintegrate, would we not find it necessary to establish some other international organization for the same objectives? Let us therefore preserve what we have, breathe new meaning and purpose into it, so that it can create an order where the use of force would defeat its own purpose.

Countries which, like us, have won freedom newly have attachment for this Organization and a special stake in its functioning. We are aware that old attitudes persist; at the same time there is some difference, however small. Recent events have shown that military power alone does not give full control of the situation on all occasions because other national wills, even of smaller nations, are also at work.

I have come here to reiterate my country's deep commitment to the principles and purposes of the Charter. Ever since India became sovereign, the United Nations has occupied a pivotal position in her foreign policy. In his very first policy statement after India attained freedom, Jawaharlal Nehru declared:

"The world, in spite of its rivalries and hatred and inner conflicts, moves inevitably towards closer co-operation and the building up of a world commonwealth. It is for this One World that free India will work, a world in which there is the free co-operation of free peoples, and no class or group exploits another."

All these twenty-five years, we have striven to make the United Nations stronger, and to defend it from the corrosive effects of cynicism. We have borne burdens on its behalf, undertaking missions of peace to Korea, the Gaza strip, and Congo. We have endeavoured to serve the cause of peace in Indochina. We have sought to reconcile conflicting viewpoints in this forum. And we have resisted attempts to subordinate the United Nations to powerful national wills.

The recent Lusaka Conference of nonaligned countries, in which nearly half the members of the United Nations participated, reaffirmed the faith of nonaligned countries in this world Organization and resolved to work to strengthen it. We may not have technological power or nuclear arsenals, but our voice has to be heard. The United Nations should take full advantage of the support of these governments, and also of the inmost desire for peace which exists in the peoples of all nations. That is what enabled the United Nations to survive the cold war. Its influence can be enhanced by keeping it above power politics.

The great revolutionary cycle which was set in motion by the struggles for independence, by the yearning for equality, by the search for a new meaning in life, is not yet complete. In Lusaka, we pledged ourselves to complete the Unfinished Revolution of our times. Rekindling faith in itself, the United Nations must concern itself with this unfinished task. Vast political changes have taken place, but some countries still find themselves under the yoke of colonialism. The world Organization must work for their liberation. Where theories of racial superiority determine governmental policies, the United Nations must work for racial equality. We cannot view with equanimity the supply of arms to South Africa. The total abolition of colonialism and racialism in every form is a prerequisite of a new world order.

Political freedom is incomplete if it does not lead to wider horizons of economic opportunity, and this is possible only with peace. Hence, apart from preventing suffering and dispelling fear and uncertainty, disarmament would make a decisive difference to development. India has always used such influence as she had to achieve the acceptance of total disarmament. Nearly twenty years ago, we were instrumental in bringing about a private meeting of the great powers which ultimately led to the Test Ban Treaty. However, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which was formulated later, does not stop the production of nuclear weapons or remove stockpiles, but perpetuates the division between nuclear powers and others, thus creating yet another vested interest.

The world has become accustomed to nuclear arsenals, and insensitive to their evil, perhaps even unable to comprehend the sheer magnitude of the fearsome destruction they hold. There is a helpless acceptance of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons as part of our daily lives. Our preoccupation with smaller day-to-day problems clouds a careful examination of the assumptions and policies which have led to the arms race.

Ironically enough, neither those who possess the stockpiles, nor those who seek to be protected, feel secure. Power undermines itself from within and turns into impotence. As the Buddha said: "Iron turns to rust and rust devours iron."

Even a small reduction in the production of armaments would release vast material and technological resources for human welfare and would help the narrowing of economic disparities.

So far as we the independent developing nations are concerned, economic development has only just begun. We have our failings. We allowed our growth to be inhibited by structural and other difficulties — an outmoded social system and attitudes of mind, an administrative machine which was devised by foreign rulers for their own purposes. Many other difficulties are inherent in underdevelopment. But our biggest impediment has been the attitudes of the strong nations, the kind of terms which they have set for financial outflows to the developing

countries and the manner in which the poor nations are shut out from their markets. It will be difficult for our endeavour to succeed so long as technological neocolonialism persists.

Tomorrow at our Commemorative Session when the Second Development Decade will be proclaimed, we shall formally adopt the international development strategy which has already been endorsed by the General Assembly and which moves forward from the archaic donor-donee relationship between developed and developing countries to the concept of partnership. Full support to measures outlined in the strategy by all member States of the United Nations can make a material contribution to the objectives enshrined in the Charter and revive faith in international economic co-operation. However, whether the strategy succeeds or not, the developing countries should not remain passive spectators. It is imperative for us to intensify our own efforts vigorously to the maximum extent possible in our countries and to develop trade and economic co-operation with one another. We can be effective if we are united. We must plan further than one decade. In the coming twenty-five years we should evolve a concept of a larger freedom for man.

Let it not be thought that I consider the affluent powers alone at fault. We are no more virtuous than they — only our weakness makes it appear so. Sometimes our own attitudes and conditions encourage their moves. I am acutely conscious that we ourselves have been content unimaginatively to follow the beaten track and have offered no alternative vision. Even movements which questioned the concept of an acquisitive society have, in the course of time, drifted into the same patterns.

International organizations tend to use as a basis for discussion and decision certain yardsticks of progress in economic functioning and so on, which have been evolved in a few countries in circumstances entirely different to those in the developing countries. Some nations use men, money and propaganda to impose their economic philosophy on others. The United Nations and its agencies should not accept such premises automatically and elevate them to universal dogmas. Each problem must be viewed in its own setting. No nation should be uprooted from its special heritage, and the programmes for its progress must grow out of its own experience. In India we should like to build a distinctive design of life by re-examining the sources of our history, and by separating the perennial from the transitory in our tradition.

Our top priority is economic and social development, but we often ask ourselves: development for what and for whom? There is a growing awareness in the world that technology and intensive specialization do not necessarily enrich the human dimension. The urgent need is for a unified view of the world's resources and the world's experience, and of man's power of invention. We are one of the species of this planet Earth.

Have we the right to squander its resources, to pollute water and air, to extinguish animal and plant life, to upset the delicate balance in Nature and mar its beauty? Cannot an organization such as the United Nations direct our thinking in terms of the larger well-being?

Much has been said about the population increases and the advance of science and technology. But the more significant explosion of our times is the awakening of human consciousness on a global scale. Seers have for long thought of mankind as one family (*Vasudhaiva kutumbakam*, as ancient sages in my country called it). Modern technology has brought all countries close, and has provided visual proof of this unity. What man saw with his inward eye, science has made possible to see with the outward eye. Science, technology and art are reaching across national frontiers. So are the yearnings of peoples. From a fragmentary interpretation of human civilization, we are moving to the threshold of a universal history of man. The theories which have dominated our age seem hardly relevant, for neither appears to provide true answers to our questions.

For centuries, vast numbers in the countries under colonial rule were apathetic and resigned. Their awakening is accompanied by expectation and impatience. These have sometimes led to the growth of populism, encouraging fascism, on the one hand, and the destructive exuberance of the extreme left, on the other, seeking short cuts and easy ways. We see this in several countries, including my own. An addiction to violence has grown, seeking by destruction to obliterate all that was and is. But history cannot be changed; it can be used. Neither for the weak nor for the strong is there an easy way. We believe that wrong means often distort the ends, and violence for a purpose often deteriorates to violence for its own sake. Violence is evil, but what is worse is that it breeds contempt and callousness at a time when all our senses must be specially sensitive and attuned to every nuance of the swift movements of change. Mere condemnation of discontent can lead to acts of desperation. The answer is to seek to understand and remove the causes, by initiating the process of peaceful change. Rebels and nonconformists are often the pioneers and designers of change.

The Unfinished Revolution is not confined to the poorer, developing countries. The advanced countries also have their Unfinished Revolution. We find it in the movement for women's liberation, in the revolt of young people, the ferment in the universities and the assertion of Black and Brown power.

Why do these movements remain on the periphery of the nations' activities? It is not for lack of courage or sincerity, or depth of feeling, but because each group deals with only a small part of the problem and does not view it in its entirety. If these groups were to see the larger perspective, they would soon realize that it is not they alone who have

been denied emancipation in a world of free men, but that the vast majority of people are themselves prisoners of old conceptions of politics, economics and of social attitudes and functioning. If their present restlessness can be harnessed to creative purposes, they can set the pace for history and give a new direction to mankind. The change we desire, the change which must come, is not of pace, quantity or manner, but of basic quality — of what man is, of what man can be.

The concepts of freedom, democracy and justice have not remained fixed but have evolved and changed over the years. People rightly look for greater content in them and seek greater participation for themselves. Each individual wants his true self to be understood, his worth to be realized.

The coming twenty-five years in which we must lay the foundations for a larger freedom for man will make demands on the leaders and peoples of all nations and on the administrators of the United Nations and its agencies. They have done good work in difficult conditions. It is now to be considered whether the organizational structure and procedures, and the definition of goals and duties needs reappraisal. Many suggestions have been made for the better implementation of the Articles of the United Nations Charter and of its Resolutions. It is obvious that there should be a recommitment by member States to the ideals of the United Nations, but it is equally important to draw up essential new programmes which might help to avoid the mistakes of the old world.

Our independence coincided with a remarkable acceleration of communications. So, from the very beginning, our foreign policy was based on the premise that in a shrinking world, there could be no place for war as an instrument of policy. The responsibility to help more than five hundred million people to fulfil their aspirations gives us a compelling interest in peace, especially with our neighbours. We have always affirmed that the way of the world should be not power but peace, not confrontation but co-operation. The world is not for destruction, it is for development. Governments and statesmen of the world, indeed citizens of all nations, need to make earnest and well considered efforts to submerge national ambitions and rivalries in the wider interest of the preservation of civilization and the survival of humanity.

Time, space, matter, life, all the old certainties are under question. The exploration of outer space and the research into the nature of life are placing new responsibility in man's hands. Many countries are turning their attention towards the seabed and its treasures. The United Nations should ensure that the resources born of all these explorations are used not merely for the aggrandizement of individual nations but for the welfare of the family of man.

The irony of mankind is that we have the means, and we see the vision, but we lack the will and the trust to take the one big step forward. As

the Maitri Upanishad says: "The mind is the source of all bondage, and also the source of liberation." It is by breaking through the cages of constraint that man can go forward.

In the years to come, let the United Nations strive to bring about an era of international transformation by consent, a new era of justice and peace.

Address to the U.N. General Assembly during the silver jubilee celebrations of the U.N., October 23, 1970.

Poverty and Pollution

This Conference in itself is a fresh expression of the spirit which created the United Nations — concern for the present and future welfare of humanity. It does not aim merely at securing limited agreements but at establishing peace and harmony in life — among all races and with Nature. This gathering represents man's earnest endeavour to understand his own condition and to prolong his tenancy of this planet. A vast amount of detailed preparatory work has gone into the convening of this Conference guided by the dynamic personality of Mr Maurice Strong, the Secretary-General.

I have had the good fortune of growing up with a sense of kinship with nature in all its manifestations. Birds, plants, stones were companions and, sleeping under the star-strewn sky, I became familiar with the names and movements of the constellations. But my deep interest in this our "only earth" was not for itself but as a fit home for man.

One cannot be truly human and civilized unless one looks upon not only all fellowmen but all creation with the eyes of a friend. Throughout India, edicts carved on rocks and iron pillars are reminders that twenty-two centuries ago, Emperor Ashoka defined a king's duty as not merely to protect citizens and punish wrongdoers but also to preserve animal life and forest trees. Ashoka was the first and perhaps the only monarch, until very recently, to forbid the killing of a large number of species of animals for sport or food, foreshadowing some of the concerns of this Conference. He went further, regretting the carnage of his military conquests and enjoining upon his successors to find "their only pleasure in the peace that comes through righteousness."

Along with the rest of mankind, we in India — in spite of Ashoka — have been guilty of wanton disregard for the sources of our sustenance. We share your concern at the rapid deterioration of flora and fauna. Some of our own wild life has been wiped out, miles of forests with beautiful old trees, mute witnesses of history, have been destroyed. Even though our industrial development is in its infancy, and at its most difficult stage, we are taking various steps to deal with incipient environmental imbalances. The more so because of our concern for the human being — a species which is also imperilled. In poverty he is threatened by malnutrition and disease, in weakness by war, in richness by the pollution brought about by his own prosperity.

It is sad that in country after country, progress should become synonymous with an assault on nature. We who are a part of nature, and dependent on her for every need, speak constantly about "exploiting" nature. When the highest mountain in the world was climbed in 1953, Jawaharlal Nehru objected to the phrase "conquest of Everest", which he thought was arrogant. Is it surprising that this lack of consideration and the constant need to prove one's superiority should be projected on to our treatment of our fellowmen? I remember Edward Thompson, a British

writer and a good friend of India, once telling Mr. Gandhi that wild life was fast disappearing. Remarked the Mahatma: "It is decreasing in the jungles but it is increasing in the towns!"

We are gathered here under the aegis of the United Nations. We are supposed to belong to the same family sharing common traits and impelled by the same basic desires, yet we inhabit a divided world.

How can it be otherwise? There is still no recognition of the equality of man or respect for him as an individual. In matters of colour and race, religion and custom, society is governed by prejudice. Tensions arise because of man's aggressiveness and notions of superiority. The power of the big stick prevails and it is used not in favour of fair play or beauty, but to chase imaginary windmills — to assume the right to interfere in the affairs of others, and to arrogate authority for action which would not normally be allowed. Many of the advanced countries of today have reached their present affluence by their domination over other races and countries, the exploitation of their own masses and their own natural resources. They got a headstart through sheer ruthlessness, undisturbed by feelings of compassion or by abstract theories of freedom, equality or justice. The stirrings of demands for the political rights of citizens and the economic rights of the toiler came after considerable advance had been made. The riches and the labour of the colonized countries played no small part in the industrialization and prosperity of the West. Now, as we struggle to create a better life for our people, it is in vastly different circumstances, for obviously in today's eagle-eyed watchfulness, we cannot indulge in such practices even for a worthwhile purpose. We are bound by our own ideals. We owe allegiance to the principles of the rights of workers and the norms enshrined in the charters of international organizations. Above all, we are answerable to the millions of politically awakened citizens in our countries. All these make progress costlier and more complicated.

On the one hand, the rich look askance at our continuing poverty, on the other, they warn us against their own methods. We do not wish to impoverish the environment any further and yet we cannot for a moment forget the grim poverty of large numbers of people. Are not poverty and need the greatest polluters? For instance, unless we are in a position to provide employment and purchasing power for the daily necessities of the tribal people and those who live in or around our jungles, we cannot prevent them from combing the forest for food and livelihood; from poaching and from despoiling the vegetation. When they themselves feel deprived, how can we urge the preservation of animals? How can we speak to those who live in villages and in slums about keeping the oceans, the rivers and the air clean when their own lives are contaminated at the source? The environment cannot be improved in conditions of poverty. Nor can poverty be eradicated without the use

of science and technology.

Must there be conflict between technology and a truly better world or between enlightenment of the spirit and a higher standard of living? Foreigners sometimes ask what to us seems a very strange question, whether progress in India would not mean a diminishing of her spirituality or her values? Is spiritual quality so superficial as to be dependent upon the lack of material comfort? As a country we are no more or less spiritual than any other, but traditionally our people have respected the spirit of detachment and renunciation. Historically, our great spiritual discoveries were made during periods of comparative affluence. The doctrines of detachment from possessions were developed not as rationalization of deprivation but to prevent comfort and ease from dulling the senses. Spirituality means the enrichment of the spirit, the strengthening of one's inner resources and the stretching of one's range of experience. It is the ability to be still in the midst of activity and vibrantly alive in moments of calm; to separate the essence from circumstances; to accept joy and sorrow with some equanimity. Perception and compassion are the marks of true spirituality.

I am reminded of an incident in one of our tribal areas. The vociferous demand of elder tribal chiefs that their customs should be left undisturbed found support from noted anthropologists. In its anxiety that the majority should not submerge the many ethnical, racial and cultural groups in our country, the Government of India largely accepted this advice. I was amongst those who entirely approved. However, a visit to a remote part of our northeast frontier brought me in touch with a different point of view — the protest of the younger elements that while the rest of India was on the way to modernization they were being preserved as museum pieces. Could we not say the same to the affluent nations?

For the last quarter of a century, we have been engaged in an enterprise unparalleled in human history — the provision of basic needs to one-seventh of mankind within the span of one or two generations. When we launched on that effort our early planners had more than the usual gaps to fill. There were not enough data and no helpful books. No guidance could be sought from the experience of other countries whose conditions — political, economic, social and technological — were altogether different. Planning in the sense we were innovating had never been used in the context of a mixed economy. But we would not wait. The need to improve the conditions of our people was pressing. Planning and action, improvement of data leading to better planning and better action, all this was a continuous and overlapping process. Our industrialization tended to follow the paths which the more advanced countries had traversed earlier. With the advance of the 60s, and particularly during the last five years, we have encountered a bewildering

collection of problems, some due to our shortcomings, but many inherent in the process and in existing attitudes. The feeling is growing that we should reorder our priorities and move away from the single-dimensional model which has viewed growth from certain limited angles, which seems to have given a higher place to things rather than to persons, and which has increased our wants rather than our enjoyment. We should have a more comprehensive approach to life, centred on man not as a statistic but an individual with many sides to his personality. The solution of these problems cannot be isolated phenomena of marginal importance but must be an integral part of the unfolding of the very process of development.

The extreme forms in which questions of population or environmental pollution are posed obscure the total view of political, economic and social situations. The Government of India is one of the few which has an officially sponsored programme of family planning and this is making some progress. We believe that planned families will make for a healthier and more conscious population. But we know also that no programme of population control can be effective without education and without a visible rise in the standard of living. Our own programmes have succeeded in the urban or semi-urban areas. To the very poor, every child is an earner and a helper. We are experimenting with new approaches and the family planning programme is being combined with those of maternity and child welfare, nutrition and development in general.

It is an oversimplification to blame all the world's problems on increasing population. Countries with but a small fraction of the world population consume the bulk of the world's production of minerals, fossil fuels, and so on. Thus we see that when it comes to the depletion of natural resources and environmental pollution, the increase of one inhabitant in an affluent country, at his level of living, is equivalent to an increase of many Asians, Africans or Latin Americans at their current material levels of living.

The inherent conflict is not between conservation and development, but between environment and the reckless exploitation of man and earth in the name of efficiency. Historians tell us that the modern age began with the will to freedom of the individual. And the individual came to believe that he had rights with no corresponding obligations. The man who got ahead was the one who commanded admiration. No questions were asked as to the methods employed or the price which others had to pay. The industrial civilization has promoted the concept of the efficient man, he whose entire energies are concentrated on producing more in a given unit of time and from a given unit of manpower. Groups or individuals who are less competitive and, according to this test, less efficient, are regarded as lesser breeds — for example, the older civilizations, the Black and Brown peoples, women and certain professions. Obsolescence is built into production, and efficiency is based on the creation of goods which

are not really needed and which cannot be disposed of when discarded. What price such efficiency now, and is not reckless a more appropriate term for such behaviour?

All the "isms" of the modern age — even those which in theory disown the private profit principle — assume that man's cardinal interest is acquisition. The profit motive, individual or collective, seems to overshadow all else. This overriding concern with self and today is the basic cause of the ecological crisis.

Pollution is not a technical problem. The fault lies not in science and technology as such but in the sense of values of the contemporary world which ignores the rights of others and is oblivious of the longer perspective.

There are grave misgivings that the discussion on ecology may be designed to distract attention from the problems of war and poverty. We have to prove to the disinherited majority of the world that ecology and conservation will not work against their interest but will bring an improvement in their lives. To withhold technology from them would deprive them of vast resources of energy and knowledge. This is no longer feasible, nor will it be acceptable.

The environmental problems of the developing countries are not the side effects of excessive industrialization but reflect the inadequacy of development. The rich countries may look upon development as the cause of environmental destruction, but to us it is one of the primary means of improving the environment for living, or providing food, water, sanitation and shelter; of making the deserts green and the mountains habitable. The research and perseverance of dedicated people have given us an insight which is likely to play an important part in the shaping of our future plans. We see that however much man hankers after material goods, these can never give him full satisfaction. Thus the higher standard of living must be achieved without alienating people from their heritage and without despoiling nature of its beauty, freshness and purity, so essential to our lives.

The most urgent and basic question is that of peace. Nothing is so pointless as modern warfare. Nothing destroys so instantly, so completely as the diabolic weapons which not only kill but maim and deform the living and the yet-to-be born; which poison the land, leaving long trails of ugliness, barrenness and hopeless desolation. What ecological project can survive a war? The Prime Minister of Sweden, Mr. Olof Palme, has already drawn the attention of the Conference to this in powerful words.

It is clear that the environmental crisis which is confronting the world will profoundly alter the future destiny of our planet. No one among us, whatever our status, strength or circumstance, can remain unaffected. The process of change challenges present international policies. Will the growing awareness of "one earth" and "one environment" guide to the

concept of "one humanity?" Will there be more equitable sharing of environmental costs and greater international interest in the accelerated progress of the less developed world? Or, will it remain confined to a narrow concern, based on exclusive self-sufficiency?

The first essays in narrowing economic and technological disparities have not succeeded because the policies of aid were made to subserve the equations of power. We hope that the renewed emphasis on self-reliance, brought about by the change in the climate for aid, will also promote a search for new criteria of human satisfaction. In the meantime, the ecological crisis should not add to the burdens of the weaker nations by introducing new considerations in the political and trade policies of rich nations. It would be ironic if the fight against pollution were to be converted into another business, out of which a few companies, corporations, or nations would make profits at the cost of the many. Here is a branch of experimentation and discovery in which scientists of all nations should take interest. They should ensure that their findings are available to all nations, unrestricted by patents. I am glad that the Conference has given thought to this aspect of the problem.

Life is one and the world is one, and all these questions are interlinked. The population explosion, poverty, ignorance and disease, the pollution of our surroundings, the stockpiling of nuclear weapons and biological and chemical agents of destruction are all parts of a vicious circle. Each is important and urgent but dealing with them one by one would be wasted effort.

It serves little purpose to dwell on the past or to apportion blame, for none of us is blameless. If some are able to dominate over others, this is at least partially due to the weakness, the lack of unity and the temptation of gaining some advantage on the part of those who submit. If the prosperous have been exploiting the needy, can we honestly claim that in our own societies, people do not take advantage of the weaker sections? We must re-evaluate the fundamentals in which our respective civic societies are based and the ideals by which they are sustained. If there is to be a change of heart, a change of direction and methods of functions, it is not an organization or a country — no matter how well intentioned — which can achieve it. While each country must deal with that aspect of the problem which is most relevant to it, it is obvious that all countries must unite in an overall endeavour. There is no alternative to a co-operative approach on a global scale to the entire spectrum of our problems.

I have referred to some problems which seem to me to be the underlying causes of the present crises in our civilization. This is not in the expectation that this Conference can achieve miracles or solve all the world's difficulties, but in the hope that the opinions of each nation will be kept in focus, that these problems will be viewed in perspective

and each project devised as part of the whole.

On a previous occasion I have spoken of the Unfinished Revolution in our countries. I am now convinced that this can be taken to its culmination when it is accompanied by a revolution in social thinking. In 1968, at the 14th General Conference of UNESCO, the Indian delegation, along with others, proposed a new and major programme entitled "a design for living". It is essential to grasp the full implication of technical advance and its impact on different sections and groups. We do not want to put the clock back or resign ourselves to a simplistic natural state. We want new directions in the wiser use of the knowledge and tools with which science has equipped us. And this cannot be just one upsurge but a continuous search into cause and effect and an unending effort to match technology with higher levels of thinking. We must concern ourselves not only with the kind of world we want but also with what kind of man should inhabit it. Surely we do not desire a society divided into those who condition and those who are conditioned. We want thinking people, capable of spontaneous, self-directed activity, people who are interested and interesting, and who are imbued with compassion and concern for others.

It will not be easy for large societies to change their style of living. They cannot be coerced to do so, nor can governmental action suffice. People can be motivated and urged to participate in better alternatives.

It has been my experience that people who are at cross purposes with nature are cynical about mankind and ill at ease with themselves. Modern man must re-establish the unbroken link with nature and with life. He must again learn to invoke the energy of growing things and to recognize, as did the ancients in India centuries ago, that one can take from the Earth and the atmosphere only so much as one puts back into them. In their hymn to Earth, the sages of the Atharva Veda chanted:

"What of thee I dig out, let that quickly grow over,

"Let me not hit thy vitals, or thy heart."

So can man himself be vital and of good heart and conscious of his responsibility.

Address to the plenary session of the United Nations Conference on Human Environment at Stockholm, Sweden, on June 14, 1972.

India and the World

This year India celebrates the twenty-fifth anniversary of her Independence. These have been years of change and turmoil everywhere. Deep surging forces have torn asunder our past colonial feudal structures and have combined with the tides sweeping the world to give our post-Independence evolution its unique qualities. But our own unvarying concerns have been two: to safeguard our Independence and to overcome the blight of poverty.

Many crises and dangers from within and without have obstructed our path but we have taken them in our stride. Contrary to predictions, the country has not broken into warring States. We have not succumbed to civil anarchy. There has been no widespread starvation; on the contrary, we have become self-sufficient in cereals. We have not jettisoned our free institutions, but instead gained greater political cohesion and economic strength. This does not justify complacency but it does give us confidence that the Indian people can rise to whatever challenge the future may hold. Under Mahatma Gandhi's inspiration, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the Congress movement formulated a set of principles which have served as our guidelines and which are still valid for us. These are democracy, socialism and secularism so far as our internal affairs are concerned, and nonalignment in our external relations. One or the other of these principles has been the subject of criticism within the country and abroad. But generally speaking, internally there is a more mature awareness of the forces and compulsions of our age, and these principles have come to form the essential elements of a national programme accepted by virtually all sections of our people, even though there are differences of interpretation and regarding tactics. The massive majority with which the Congress party was returned to power in the fifth general election in 1971 and in the State elections in 1972 is an indication of this.

What holds people together is not religion, not race, not language, not even a commitment to an economic system. It is shared experience and involvement in the conscious and continuous effort at resolving internal differences through political means. It is a sense of "Indianness" which unites our people despite ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity. Most conflicts and tensions in the world originate in the failure to take note of the importance of nationalism.

II

Two centuries and more of history marked by foreign intervention, domination and exploitation left India backward, apathetic and stagnant. The general scene was one of decay, reflected in the misery of the masses. For us, political independence became inseparable from economic

freedom, which in turn could be meaningful to the extent that it served the interests not only of the few but of the many, of the nation as a whole. Hence, our energies at home have been chiefly directed toward the reconstruction of our society.

Our national movement was committed not to a doctrine but to a purpose — the modernization of our society without loss of the Indian personality; the development and integration of industry and agriculture with modern science and technology; the uplift of the masses and the ending of archaic, hierarchical systems in which discrimination and exploitation had become entrenched.

In the economic field, it was clear from the beginning that we could not rely only on private enterprise and the play of market forces, that we would have to establish social control over the key sectors of the economy and adopt measures of economic planning appropriate to the stage of development reached. Our socialism is not a readymade ideology but a flexible concept. Three successive Five Year Plans have been implemented and we are halfway through the Fourth. None of them was beyond criticism in formulation or execution. And yet the overall progress of the last twenty-five years is by no means negligible. We have an impressive record of diversifying our industrial capacity and raising industrial output. The Indian peasant has quickly responded to the new strategy, with the State providing irrigation, improved seeds, better implements, fertilizers and pesticides. So marked has been the development of our industry and agriculture, our science and technology, our education and health, that some argue that India should not now be counted among the underdeveloped nations.

Although we have acquired certain features of an industrial state and although some classes and groups of our people are visibly prosperous, the vast majority still live in poverty and a substantial minority in crushing poverty. Moreover, the process of development has widened the disparities between different social classes and has created new imbalances between States and between districts within the same State.

Our very progress has drawn attention to the inadequacy of our achievement and to the magnitude of the tasks that still lie ahead. But it has increased our capacity to deal with them. We have realized that reliance on stereotyped processes of economic growth will not make an appreciable impact on the living conditions of the masses for decades to come. Hence, a basic review of our economic policies is now under way. We propose a more direct assault on poverty and its major manifestation, unemployment. Our next Five Year Plan will emphasize investment and production programmes which are closely related to a minimum level of consumption for all and are linked to the provision of employment opportunities on an extensive scale. This gigantic enterprise calls for institutional changes and innovations.

These radical policies do not conform to the code of capitalism and they may not adhere to orthodox doctrines of socialism, but they are desired by the great majority of our people. The privileged do not hide their misgivings. Reform, as in every country where it has been an issue, is being hotly debated. Some of the more glaring inequities of the land system, for example, absentee landlordism, were removed immediately after Independence, but the just redistribution of land and consolidation of holdings are yet to be satisfactorily completed. Industrialization and urbanization have given rise to new problems and have further accentuated disparities. However, our commitment to democracy is fundamental. Indian socialism is not a negation of democracy is fulfilment, and democracy will be imperilled only in the measure by which we fail through lack of foresight or want of courage to respond to the aspirations of our people.

The resources for our economic development have come mostly from the sacrifices of our own people, but we have also received aid from abroad in the form of credits for the purchase of industrial equipment and food. Although aid was originally conceived of as external assistance for supplementing the self-help measures of developing countries, we have found that it is often used by some creditor governments as an instrument to enforce their short-term policy objectives and to secure political and economic concessions unrelated to our development. Aid is effective only if it is guided by considerations of development and when there is assurance of its continuity and not when it can be suspended or withdrawn abruptly. While aid is generally tied to purchases from donor countries, repayment under many of the agreements has to be made in freely convertible foreign currencies, adding to our burdens. At present more than half of the external assistance to us goes for repayments of earlier debts. It is our policy to reduce reliance on aid progressively. We are determined to mobilize internal resources and technological capacities more intensively.

III

India's foreign policy is a projection of the values which we have cherished through the centuries as well as our current concerns. We are not tied to the traditional concepts of a foreign policy designed to safeguard overseas possessions, investments, the carving out of spheres of influence and the erection of *cordons sanitaires*. We are not interested in exporting ideologies.

Our first concern has been to prevent any erosion of our Independence. Therefore, we could not be camp followers of any power, however rich or strong. We had equal interest in the maintenance and safeguarding of international peace as an essential condition of India's economic, social

and political development. In the bipolar world which existed in the immediate postwar era, Jawaharlal Nehru refused to join either bloc. He decided to remain nonaligned as a means of safeguarding our Independence and contributing to the maintenance of world peace. Nonalignment implied neither noninvolvement nor neutrality. It was and is an assertion of our freedom of judgment and action. We have not hesitated to express our views on any major controversy or to support just causes.

In conformity with the objectives of our foreign policy, India sought friendship with every nation. We did not allow past conflicts to impede our new links with Britain within the framework of the Commonwealth. The problem of French possessions in India, unlike those held by the Portuguese, was solved in a civilized manner by peaceful negotiations. Thereafter, our relations with France grew in cordiality. We have similar relations with the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic and other European countries, both East and West. With the nonaligned countries in Asia, the Middle East, North Africa and Africa south of the Sahara, there exists special understanding and co-operation based on a common interest in safeguarding freedom and a common struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism and racialism. We have friendship with the countries of Latin America whose concern with problems of development is similar to ours. India has always held Japan in esteem as a dynamic Asian country, and our co-operation with Japan is steadily growing.

We have also tried to have normal relations with Pakistan. Yet successive governments of Pakistan based the survival and unity of their country on the idea of confrontation with India. This has stood in the way of co-operation which would have been to our mutual benefit. India was partitioned in 1947 to solve what the British portrayed as irreconcilable Hindu-Muslim antagonism. Pakistan was based on the medieval notion that religion alone constituted nationhood. Encouraged by the imperial power, the Muslim League claimed that Muslim majority areas were entitled to become an independent nation. Thus, Pakistan was born a geographical curiosity, its two halves separated by a thousand miles of Indian territory. India was left with a very large number of Muslims; they formed the largest of her many minorities. In keeping with her old tradition and the spirit of her nationalist movement, India adopted secularism, that is, nondiscrimination on grounds of religion, as a fundamental State principle. Equal rights and equal protection have been vouchsafed for the followers of all religions. The Muslim population of India has grown since Partition from 35 million to 61 million. It is noteworthy that the 1971 census showed that there are 14 million Christians and 17 million others including Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, Parsis and Jews.

Pakistan, on the other hand, clung to the political ideology which had

led to Partition. Those who came to power in Pakistan had sided with the colonial power in undivided India and had opposed the national struggle. These ruling elements, especially after the establishment of military dictatorship, set Pakistan on a course of pointless and seemingly endless conflict with India. Just as in the earlier days when the colonial power had used religious sentiments to blunt the nationalist drive in India, some powers sought to use Pakistan to offset India. Pakistan joined military alliances which had been formed ostensibly to contain international communism, but which Pakistan used primarily in order to acquire weapons to be used against India. Moreover, it suited the West to play off Pakistan against India. China gave military assistance to Pakistan with the same purpose. Later, so did the Soviet Union in order not to lose leverage, but soon discovered its hazards. The consequence of this assistance was to strengthen the militarist oligarchy in Pakistan and inhibit the growth of democratic forces there. Hatred and suspicion of India were whipped up to maintain those in power and to divert the Pakistani people's attention from their demands. Since India remained outside the military systems, our defence capacity, unlike that of Pakistan, had to be built up out of our own resources. We have bought defence equipment from a number of countries, however, particularly after the Chinese invasion in 1962 when we received very modest assistance from the United States and the United Kingdom.

Kashmir, as early as October 1947, was the first victim of aggression by Pakistan. This was at a time when there were no Indian forces at all in Kashmir — as acknowledged by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan at that time in the UN Security Council. A large part of that State has been under Pakistan's occupation for many years. India does not intend to recapture this territory by force; on several occasions we have given this assurance to Pakistan and have offered to conclude a "no-war" pact. Pakistan has rejected this offer repeatedly, trying to invoke third-party intervention in our affairs. Infiltrators and saboteurs have been sent into Kashmir and other territories, notably in the northeast. Early in 1965, our Kutch area was invaded, and later the same year the infiltration was escalated into an attack on Kashmir which led to fighting all along the western front.

The immediate background to the latest aggression against us in 1971 was the other battle which Pakistan had been waging for many months against its own citizens of East Pakistan (as it then was). India had no part in the internal developments of Pakistan — West or East. We would normally have welcomed the attainment of freedom by any victim of colonial oppression, but usually it would have little direct impact on us. Bangladesh, however, was a part of our subcontinent. How could we ignore a conflict which took place on our very border and overflowed into our own territory? Ten million destitute refugees poured into

densely populated areas which were also politically sensitive owing to the activities of Marxists and the Left extremists we call Naxalites. This posed unbearable strains on our economy and on our social and administrative institutions. The terrible stories of genocide and the comings and goings of Mukti Bahini, the resistance force of Bangladesh, created a volatile situation for us also. Could we remain indifferent to these developments?

As I told the leaders of the various countries which I visited in October 1971, the situation could not remain static. Several border clashes took place during these tense months, and there was one serious skirmish in November; but we treated these as local incidents. In the last week of November, President Yahya Khan publicly announced that war would begin in ten days and, sure enough, on the tenth day there was a massive air attack on seven of our cities and a ground attack all along our western border. Thus did Pakistan extend its war to India.

However, when 14 days later, on December 16, 1971, Pakistani troops surrendered on the eastern front, India unilaterally announced a ceasefire on the western front also. On March 25, 1972, we withdrew our troops from Bangladesh in consultation with the new government.

The political map of the subcontinent has been redrawn and the notion of an inbred and insuperable antagonism between a secular India and a predominantly Muslim State has been discredited — not through any design on our part but because the idea itself was untenable and the military dictatorship of Pakistan, totally alienated from its own people, had followed a shortsighted and unrealistic policy. In his address to the nation on June 27, 1972, President Bhutto gave a perceptive account of the events when he said: "The war we have lost was not of our making. I had warned against it but my warning fell on deaf ears of a power-drunk junta. They recklessly plunged our people into the war and involved us in an intolerable surrender and lost us half our country. The junta did not know how to make peace nor did it know how to make war."

The shock of these events compelled Pakistan to exchange military dictatorship for civilian rule and opened the door to new possibilities for the peaceful resolution of the basic issues between the two countries. I took the initiative to invite President Bhutto for discussions. These have resulted in the Simla Agreement of July 2, 1972, by which Pakistan and India have proclaimed their determination to solve their conflicts bilaterally and without recourse to force, and to seek a durable peace and growing economic and cultural co-operation. The agreement, which holds the promise of settlement of the Kashmir and boundary problems, has been welcomed by almost all sections of the Indian people. It is my hope that the implementation of this agreement in the spirit in which it was made will close the 25-year-old period of Pakistan's hatred of India, and that both countries will become good neighbours. I

appreciate the courage and realistic approach which enabled President Bhutto to come to India. If Pakistan also shows the wisdom to come to terms with Bangladesh which, under Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, is building a secular, socialist-oriented democracy, the subcontinent will at long last have overcome the main obstacle to its progress.

IV

I have dwelt at length on Pakistan and the problems of the subcontinent, for their impact on us is immediate and deep. But we want better relations with China also. Even when we were fully absorbed in our own struggle for liberty, we supported China's parallel fight against imperialism and sent a medical team to Mao Tse-tung's Eighth Route Army. We have respect for their culture and cherish memories of past contacts. We were among the first in 1949 to welcome the establishment of the People's Republic.

Much to our disappointment, the last two decades have failed to fulfil our initial hope that India and China, both great Asian nations, newly independent and faced with similar problems, would learn from and assist each other and so co-operate on the wider international scene. We began, as we thought, with mutual confidence and goodwill, but the events of the 1950s brought tension and misunderstanding, culminating in the entry of Chinese troops and their occupation of thousands of square miles of Indian territory in 1962.

It would be an oversimplification to regard this merely as the result of a border dispute. Simultaneous or subsequent developments — such as China's systematic support of Pakistan against India, her provocative criticism of India for alleged subservience to the United States and later the Soviet Union, and her persistent though futile efforts to promote internal subversion — leave us no option but to infer that the border dispute was the outcome of a more complex policy which was aimed at undermining India's stability and at obstructing her rapid and orderly progress. After the Cultural Revolution, conditions seem more tranquil, and there appears to be a new orientation in China's policies. We wonder whether this new mood will also be reflected in China's policy toward India. The earlier faint signs of a thaw have receded since China's unreserved support of General Yahya Khan's campaign against Bangladesh and India. We are not engaged in any competition with China, nor have we any hostile intentions. We hope that some day China will appreciate that co-operative and friendly relations between the 560 million people of India and the 700 million people of China are in our mutual interest.

Apart from the Soviet leaders, I think my father was the first Prime

Minister to pay a state visit to China. Similarly, the exchange of visits with the leaders of the Soviet Union was memorable in that it was the first time since the October Revolution that a noncommunist personality of Nehru's stature and the head of a noncommunist government was welcomed officially by the Soviet Government; it was the first time, also, that Soviet leaders travelled in a country outside the socialist bloc. The talks held in Moscow and Delhi resulted in a significant measure of understanding that had more than bilateral implications. They demonstrated that it was possible for two countries such as India and the Soviet Union to maintain good relations and to work together in a friendly spirit in spite of very different social systems and without either having to modify its policies or sacrifice its philosophy and traditions.

The Soviet Union shares the Indian view on the maintenance of peace and the elimination of racialism and colonialism. On these issues it has supported the Afro-Asian stand in the United Nations and elsewhere. When matters vitally concerning our national security and integrity, such as Goa, Kashmir and more lately Bangladesh, became subjects of international controversy, the Soviet assessment of the merits of the case coincided largely with our own. In strictly bilateral terms also, there has been a steady increase in the range and volume of our co-operation — economic, commercial and cultural — to our mutual advantage. Economic relations with the Soviet Union are easier for us since we repay them through the export of our commodities. This mode of payment makes the Soviet credits self-liquidating.

The Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation, concluded last year, grew logically from this expanding relationship. It affirms the determination of both countries for greater co-operation in various fields and to consult one another, if need be, on suitable measures to safeguard their peace and security. There is nothing in the treaty to which any reasonable person or government could take exception. It contains no secret clauses, nor is it aimed against any country. Yet there have been some misapprehensions that the treaty dilutes India's nonalignment. It is strange that such criticism comes mostly from those who have vehemently denounced nonalignment all along. In the text of the treaty itself there is explicit recognition and endorsement of India's policy of nonalignment.

V

Our relations with the United States started off rather well. At that time, the American people and Government showed considerable sympathy for the colonial peoples who were struggling for independence, and particularly for India. However, this phase was shortlived. With

the rise of the United States to a dominant world position, Washington's concern and respect for the national independence of India receded into the background. Everything was viewed solely in the context of checking communism and containing first the Soviet Union, subsequently China, and now once again the Soviet Union. There was a feverish building of military blocs and a continuous extension of a network of bases stretching across oceans and continents. The logical and practical consequence of this policy was to divide the world into two opposing camps and to expect each country to belong to one or the other — preferably the Western bloc.

A newly freed people, jealous of their independence, could not resign themselves to this position, nor could we isolate ourselves from what was happening around us. Successive US administrations have ignored the fact that India must see her problems and her relationships in a different perspective. They have insisted on interpreting our nonalignment within the confines of a neutralism which they imagined to be slanted in favour of Russia. India was regarded with disapproval and resentment because of her independent policy. This could not but affect the bilateral relations between India and America. Despite fluctuations of mood, our relationship as a whole has been uneasy over a long period.

To our grave concern, US policy, as it developed, impinged seriously on our vital interests. The admission of Pakistan into the US controlled system of alliances and the massive supply of arms to Pakistan were ostensibly part of the US grand design against communism, but we cannot believe that the US administration was unaware that these weapons could be and would be used only against India. We took considerable pains to point this out but our protests went unheeded.

Should not the people of the United States ask their Government what they have gained from America's activities in Europe and in Asia? Has the United States succeeded in containing communism? On the contrary, has not the US Government been compelled to build bridges with the nonaligned and to woo the opposite bloc — the hated communists? I have no doubt that if we had followed the advice of the Western bloc, conditions in India would have deteriorated and the extremists would have been strengthened.

In regard to Bangladesh and during the December war, the United States openly backed Pakistan at the cost of basic human values. This further strained our relations. I do not wish to analyse the US role at that time or go into the misrepresentations which were circulated. But it is necessary to take note of the dispatch of the warship *Enterprise* to support a ruthless military dictatorship and to intimidate a democracy, and the extraordinary similarity of the attitudes adopted by the United States and China. Imagine our feelings. The original misunderstanding with the United States had arisen because of our contacts with China, the

Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. We find it difficult to understand why, when the US policy toward these countries changed, the resentment against us increased.

We do not believe in permanent estrangement. We admire the achievements of the American people. Indeed, a large number of Americans expressed sympathetic support for the cause of Bangladesh and India during the last year. We are grateful for the assistance from the United States in many areas of our development. We are ready to join in any serious effort to arrive at a deeper appreciation of each other's point of view and to improve relations. A great power must take into account the existence not only of countries with comparable power but of the multitude of others who are no longer willing to be pawns on a global chessboard. Above all, the United States has yet to resolve the inner contradiction between the traditions of the founding fathers and of Lincoln, and the external image it gives of a superpower pursuing the cold logic of power politics.

On fundamental questions such as disarmament, the abolition of nuclear weapons, the continuing struggle against colonialism and racialism, the widening gulf between the haves and the have-nots, the war in Vietnam and the conflict in the Middle East, our stand has been consistent over the years and has been clearly stated in appropriate forums. In this article I have preferred to focus attention on the situation on our subcontinent because it is our special concern and has a significance beyond geographical frontiers. In considering the policies of some major powers, I have confined myself to bilateral relations which are intimately connected with their attitudes to the subcontinent as a whole.

VI

The international scene with which we had become familiar has considerably altered. Do the two recent summit meetings in Peking and Moscow indicate that communism and anticommunism will no longer be the ultimate criteria of political and moral values and that peaceful coexistence, which India has been advocating all these years, will be the governing consideration in international dealings? Whatever the motivation, the wisdom of these new approaches is beyond question, provided that the spirit of *detente* is also extended to other parts of the world. We cannot be sure if these flexible relationships necessarily point to a more stable world order. Coexistence by itself does not preclude policies, separately or in concert, which are detrimental to the freedom and interests of third countries. For example, coordinated action in the Security Council between China and the United States last year operated against an immediate restoration of peace in Bangla-

desh in keeping with the rights of its people. Agreements which promote the doctrine of balance of power or mark out spheres of influence are bound to increase tension and invite instability. No nation will be happy in a subservient role.

Europe has avoided war for more than two decades and is now attempting to build a framework of security and co-operation. But peace is indivisible and so long as there are conflicts and dissensions in Asia there will be no peace in the world. Asia has cradled many civilizations and contains a substantial section of the world's population. For more than two centuries, it has been drained of its resources and wealth which have contributed in no small measure to the industrial advance and affluence of the West. The countries of Asia are now politically free but the continuing interplay of international forces impedes our struggle against economic backwardness and the shadows of the past. We share many problems which can be solved through co-operation among ourselves rather than merely through assistance from the outside, which has tended to cause misunderstanding among us and which was motivated more by self-interest than by a genuine understanding of our needs.

Each country has its own heritage and distinct personality which it naturally wishes to develop in its own way. But we must also bear in mind our community of interests and take positive initiatives for working together among ourselves and with other countries in order to make a richer contribution toward the evolution of a world more livable for all and of a social order more in consonance with the yearnings of modern man.

Article written in July 1972 for the October 1972 issue of *Foreign Affairs* .

V. Recollections and Reflections

The Story of Swaraj Bhawan

I

Hidden from the public gaze by the spreading branches of magnificent old trees, stands a large and distinguished house, now gay with the many sounding noises of children. If the walls could speak what interesting stories they would tell.

Allahabad or holy Prayag was not always a sleepy little provincial town but the flourishing capital of the United Provinces. And the house had not always had so sheltered an existence. There was a time when it played a distinctive part in our struggle for freedom, when the nation's eyes were focussed on its comings and goings. The Indian people looked towards it with hope and the then Government with anger and distrust, for historic decisions were taken here.

As far as we know, the house belonged originally to Mr Justice Mahmud who sold it to Raja Parmanand of Moradabad, Judge of Shahjahanpur, from whom it was bought by my grandfather, Pandit Motilal Nehru, in 1900. It was a beautiful and spacious house with a large courtyard in the middle and extensive grounds. My grandfather named the house Anand Bhawan. My father was already ten years old when the family moved into it but his sisters, now Mrs Pandit and Mrs Hutheesing, and I were all born there. My grandfather had to make many changes, enlarging and modernizing the house to make it fit for the gracious living and lavish hospitality for which he was well known. He put in a swimming pool and much later, when my parents were married, a suite of rooms was built for them on the first floor. Ideally suited for entertaining and accommodating a number of guests, the house was also a delight to children for it had lots of space for play and for hiding. In days of affluence or in days of hardship, the household was sternly governed by my grandfather — his awe-inspiring temper softened by quick forgiveness and infectious laughter, his strict discipline tempered by his love for his family and his enormous zest for life.

C.F. Andrews, a great friend of my grandfather, describes his recollections of Anand Bhawan in warm and friendly words: "It was there at Anand Bhawan that I first met Motilal Nehru more than thirty years ago. A family residence of this type is like the ancestral house of a clan in the highlands of Scotland. Everyone who is a near relative and also the servants who grow up in it regard themselves as members of the joint family. The members of leading families met continually, especially at marriages. My own educational work soon brought me into touch with Allahabad and also with Anand Bhawan." He added that Anand Bhawan was like "one of the stately country houses in England owned by the high aristocracy".

The house is rich in historical memories and is associated with many campaigns in the country's fight for freedom. It was here in Anand Bhawan that the Joint Congress-League Committee met in 1916. This greatly pleased my grandfather who used to say in those days that moderate tactics

were no good, and nothing effective could be done till some solution for the Hindu-Muslim question was found. The Joint Congress-League Scheme opened the way to a joint effort of the Extremist and Moderate leaders. My grandfather was prepared to go ahead even at the cost of breaking with his old colleagues of the Moderate group.

The building had intimate connections with the Non-co-operation Movement. Here it was that the first foundation of the Non-co-operation Movement was laid in 1920 by Mahatma Gandhi who was then residing there. He delivered a number of lectures on the subject in the grounds of Anand Bhawan. In the years to come many meetings of the Working Committee were held here. One of my first memories is of the verandah and terrace being littered with lovely materials — what a wealth of texture and colour! They were our foreign clothes, all being collected to be thrown into the enormous bonfire which was being lit in the city. From then on the whole family took to khadi.

During this Civil Disobedience Movement, my father and grandfather were arrested on December 6, 1921, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. I was four years old and this was my first experience of a court of law. I sat right in the dock on my grandfather's knee! Soon after their arrest, the police started paying frequent visits to Anand Bhawan. They came to realize the fines which had been imposed on my grandfather, father and later other members of the family. My father has written: "It was the Congress policy not to pay fines. So the police came day after day and attached and carried away bits of furniture." They took also other articles such as carpets, silver, the car, etc., whose value was far in excess of the amount of the fine. This continuous process of despoliation was irritating enough but to watch it impotently was beyond the patience of a strong-willed child such as I was. I protested to the police and indicated my strong displeasure in every way I could, once nearly chopping off an officer's thumb with a bread slicing gadget.

The sudden suspension of the Civil Disobedience Movement by Mahatma Gandhi in February 1922, in the wake of the Chauri Chaura incident, shocked and bewildered Gandhiji's closest colleagues. This led to the appointment of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee to conduct a nationwide enquiry on the state of opinion in the country and also to suggest ways and means of reviving the movement. This committee held its final sittings in Anand Bhawan and the committee's report, which later on paved the way to the Council-entry programme, was drafted here. The Swaraj Party was thus virtually born here and it was again from here that my grandfather issued his famous manifesto of 1923. The manifesto declared that if Dominion Status were not granted immediately, the Swaraj Party would resort to a policy of "uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction with a view to make government through the Assembly and the Councils impossible".

The All-Parties Conference, appointed for the purpose of drawing up a constitution for India which would be acceptable to all parties, held its meetings in Anand Bhawan. Here was also drafted the Nehru Report which demanded the immediate grant of Dominion Status.

Anand Bhawan was not only the venue for heated discussions, important meetings and rallies, it was also the centre for many and varied activities. It was home and a training ground not only to us who were born or brought up in it but also for many others, young and old; some came because they were far from home (one young man was from Ceylon) or simply because they found here more inspiration or sympathy or understanding than in their own homes. There were frequent shootings and lathi charges and often enough government hospitals were not willing to take in the victims of such atrocities. One night several quite young boys were brought in with bullet wounds and in critical conditions. My mother persuaded my grandfather to allow her to keep them in the house. So from September 1929 a part of the house was turned into a hospital. In the beginning doctors came only at dead of night and the women of the house, including myself, aged twelve, were the nurses. Later, there was a good staff and suitable equipment.

Some time in 1926, Mahatma Gandhi had a conference with my father and grandfather, which was to affect the future of the house. One of the things they discussed was a proposal for giving Anand Bhawan away to the nation. As Gandhiji himself afterwards related the story: "The elder Pandit had overheard Jawaharlal remarking that Anand Bhawan would belong to the nation when it came into his hands. So Motilal said to himself, 'why wait?'" And as a fitting prelude to the great struggle on which the nation was embarking he took the decision to make a gift of his residence. Anand Bhawan became Swaraj Bhawan and was to remain the headquarters of the Indian National Congress until the office moved to Delhi in 1946. He built a much smaller house in the compound of the old one and gave it the name of the old, Anand Bhawan. We moved into the house in 1928.

The proposal, however, actually took effect on April 6, 1930, the day on which, in the grey dawn, Gandhiji celebrated our National Week by picking contraband salt on the Dandi beach, thus touching off a unique and most spectacular non-violent mass struggle.

My grandfather died before he could execute the formal deed, so it was my father who transferred the property to the Congress. The preamble to the deed, which was executed on November 24, 1931, reads that "his father Motilalji had desired to gift the house to the Indian nation and he died before he could execute the formal deed. Pandit Jawaharlalji transferred the property to Dr. Ansari, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Dr. B.C. Roy and himself as Trustees to the benefit of the Indian people in the advancement of knowledge, health, social and economic well-being and

especially with the object of providing unity among all classes and creeds of the Indian people. . . .”

In the course of the repressive measures which were being adopted by the Government to suppress the national movement, they seized Swaraj Bhawan, in common with numerous other buildings all over the country. All the valuable equipment and material belonging to the Congress Hospital, which was being run there, was also seized. For a few days the hospital ceased working altogether, but then an open-air dispensary was established in the park near-by. Later this dispensary moved to a small cottage adjoining Swaraj Bhawan, and there it has been functioning ever since. Every year approximately 50,000 patients are treated.

There was some talk of our new house, Anand Bhawan, also being confiscated by the Government, but they evidently thought better of it and we were allowed to continue there.

Swaraj Bhawan remained in the possession of the Government from 1942 onwards. On August 9, 1942, the first day of the Quit India Movement, a military unit was stationed there and the house was transformed into a sort of headquarters for conducting a campaign of suppression and repression in the city and surrounding villages. The inhabitants and servants of the new Anand Bhawan next door were constantly being challenged at the point of the bayonet.

On July 1, 1948, the Working Committee adopted a resolution allowing Swaraj Bhawan to be used for a Children's Home, and in May 1949 the Children's National Institute took it over. Now once again Swaraj Bhawan is playing its part in the nation's life. A number of boys and girls, who would not otherwise have the chance of a normal home or education, are being trained to be good citizens of India.

Contributed to the "Motilal Nehru Birth Centenary Souvenir", 1961.

Today is my father's birthday. Even before independence, we celebrated this day, not by giving presents to him, but to those who were in need.

Jawaharlal Nehru loved beautiful things but felt no attachment to possessions. However, he did have a special feeling for Anand Bhawan which he described in these words: "It is far more than a structure of brick and concrete, more than a private possession. It is connected intimately with our national struggle for freedom and within its walls great events have happened and great decisions have been reached."

So Anand Bhawan is not just a building but a symbol of our fight for freedom for which many members of our family had struggled, suffered and sacrificed. For me also, memories of the house are not of family life but of the days of jail going, police searches, confiscation of goods and, above all, the constant flow of people of all sections and from all parts of India. Thus Anand Bhawan became a part of our history, and people still flock to it in large numbers.

My father left the house to me but it is appropriate that I should not keep it as my private property. I have, therefore, decided to gift it to the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, so that it may be suitably used to keep alive the name of Jawaharlal Nehru not as a bit of history, frozen into brick and mortar, but as a living memory of a man beckoning us to remain true to his beliefs which are so basic to the survival of our great country.

It joins the original Anand Bhawan, donated by my grandfather to the Congress in 1930 and since then known as Swaraj Bhawan. For many years, Swaraj Bhawan served as the office of the Indian National Congress. But since Partition, it is a home for children.

The Trustees of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund have signified their acceptance of the gift of Anand Bhawan and have agreed that Anand Bhawan will be open for people to visit.

Statement announcing donation of Anand Bhawan, November 14, 1969.

Childhood Episodes

“You were the proudest looking baby I have seen,” said Mrs. Naidu of our first meeting. It was when I was six months old and in my grandmother’s arms, waiting at the top of the steps, to receive our guest.

My own first memory is of the day, when in response to Gandhiji’s appeal, all over the country, foreign clothes were burnt. I can still feel the excitement of the day and see the large terrace covered with piles of clothes — what rich materials, what lovely colours! What fun for a toddler to jump on, play hide and seek in the heaps of velvets and satins, silks and chiffons! That was the day too when I discovered my power over my parents. Everybody was going to the bonfire but I was considered too small and was being put to bed. I appealed to my grandfather who then, as always later, took my side. However, I fell asleep almost as soon as we arrived, seeing only the burning wood being thrown on the mountain of clothes and the fire putting forth its first flickering testing tongue of flame.

A little later took place my first encounter with conscience and duty. Being an only child, I liked playing by myself but I liked to have my mother within my range of vision and hearing. One evening she had a visitor, a relative returning from Paris who had brought an exquisite embroidered dress for me. Mummy smilingly returned it saying that we now wore only handspun and handwoven material. The visitor could not understand this, and glancing at my mother’s clothes — the only khadi available then was thick and rough as sacking — she could not help noticing that wherever her skin had rubbed against the sari it had become sore and red. She burst out: “I think you have all gone mad. But you are adult and if you want to be ill, I suppose that is your business; you certainly have no right to make the child suffer and it is for her that I have brought this gift.” “Come here, Indu,” called my mother, “Auntie has brought you a foreign frock. It is very pretty and you can wear it if you like but first think of the big fire where we burnt our foreign things. Would you like to wear this dainty thing when the rest of us are wearing khadi?” The temptation was very strong — my eyes shone with desire. I stretched out a small hand to touch the dress but even before my hand reached it I found myself saying: “Take it away — I shan’t ever wear it.” “But why not, don’t you like nice things?” the visitor teased. “I do — I do — but — ” and I repeated all the arguments I had overheard from the elders’ talk, when she said, “All right, Miss Saint, how is it that you have a foreign doll?” It was an idle remark, thoughtlessly made. Adults so often look upon children as playthings — not understanding what is hidden by the lack of power of expression. I was passionately fond of the doll. I could not think of it, or indeed of anything as lifeless. Everything was given a name and immediately developed its own personality. The doll was my friend, my child.

For days on end — Or was it weeks? Does it matter? — it was eternity to the child overwhelmed by the burden of decision — the struggle went on.

between love of the doll and pride in the ownership of such a lovely thing and, as I thought, duty towards my country. I had never been fond of food. At this time it became even more irksome. And sleep came only out of exhaustion. My mother thought I was sickening for something and so I was. At last the decision was made and, quivering with tension, I took the doll up on the roof-terrace and set fire to her. Then the tears came as if they could never stop and for some days I was ill with a temperature. To this day I hate striking a match.

Our house was beginning its new career of being a centre for political activities. There were constant meetings, big and small. My favourite game was to collect as many servants as I could, stand on a table and deliver a speech — repeating disjointed phrases that I had picked up from grown-up talk.

Article written in November 1957 for a school magazine.

My Sixteenth Year

Returning home from an exhausting tour is a mixed blessing, for one dreads the inevitable accumulation of files. *Roshni's* request was a welcome change.

My sixteenth year was greeted by the not unusual occurrence of my father's arrest. He sent a telegram: "GOING TO OTHER HOME." My mother was ill. I was troubled and anxious but was occupied with my studies and dance practice, for I took my Matriculation examination just then and made a brief appearance for the only time on the stage of a regular theatre.

When I left for good, practically the entire school, including some parents, accompanied me on the suburban train to say goodbye at Victoria Terminus. Old songs were sung amidst mingled tears and laughter.

I had wanted to be a boy but at 16 the delight of being a woman began to unfold itself and almost overnight the long-legged tomboy in frocks changed into a sari-clad young lady. I came to Calcutta to be with my mother and to share with her the unsatisfactory but greatly treasured 20-minute fortnightly interview with my father. Mummy and I spent much time in the Ramakrishna Math. Sitting peacefully by the riverside, a new world of thought and experience opened out to me.

Soon afterwards, I joined Visva Bharati. Painfully shy with strangers, I was rather overawed by Gurudeva's magnificent presence. Never would I have dared to encroach upon his time, had he himself not complained of negligence. He kept close watch on all of us and deemed to be aware of all cross currents in the institution. Many were the evenings when a small group of us sat at his feet and talked on diverse subjects, or silently watched him paint. Often he would recite or read aloud. These were moments of serene joy, memories to cherish.

My grandmother tried to get me engaged but this hazard was avoided thanks to Mummy's staunch support. Amongst other proposals of marriage came one from my future husband and another from a stranger which had us laughing for days but that is another story.

Article written for *Roshni*, November 1959.

Prison Memories

On August 9, 1942, the pre-dawn arrests of our leaders launched the Quit India Movement and I had my first experience of a tear-gas attack at the flag-hoisting ceremony. My husband decided to go underground, doing propaganda and other work. He grew a moustache and dressed in khaki. Because of his complexion, which was fair and ruddy, he passed off as an Anglo-Indian soldier. On his journey from Bombay he got off at a small wayside station, thinking that he was too well-known in Allahabad to risk being seen at the station, even in disguise. No conveyance was available and finally he hitched a ride from a truck full of British and Anglo-Indian soldiers, who were scared stiff and almost refused to let him get off again, saying that the damned natives would hack him to pieces if they found him alone and unarmed.

Swaraj Bhawan was occupied by the military, and next door in Anand Bhawan we had the unattractive sight of a row of guns aimed at us from across the garden wall. Our servants, mostly villagers, were naturally terrified and found it difficult to reply to the curt "Halt! Who goes there?" every time they approached the wall.

There was a warrant for Shastriji's arrest. Acting on the assumption that no one would ever guess that he could be rash enough to stay in Anand Bhawan, he did just that and remained with us incognito until he could make full arrangements for the work of the Movement to go on. He could not come out of his room until after dark and food was taken up to him surreptitiously. We pretended we had an ailing relative. This situation could hardly be maintained for long without the news leaking out. Besides, there was always the danger of a search. So Shastriji had to move and was arrested within a short time. We were hedged in on all sides and it was well-nigh impossible for workers to get together. My husband became one of the links through whom I could pass on money and political literature to other underground workers and we had to arrange to meet briefly and late at night in the houses of different non-political friends.

Then came information that I was to be arrested. Until then I had tried to remain as inconspicuous as possible but I did not feel like going to jail so tamely. So I hastily packed some clothes and books and went to stay elsewhere. Whispered from ear to ear spread the news of a public meeting at 5 o'clock one day. The police swarmed all over the city for they could not discover the whereabouts of the meeting. At the scheduled time I emerged and crowds of people poured out from all sides, from the cinema house, the shops and near-by houses where they had been *collecting for some hours. I had hardly spoken for ten minutes when* truck-loads of armed British military drove up and formed a cordon around us. My husband had decided not to get involved and was looking down at us through the shutters of a first-floor window. However, at the sight of a gun barrel just a yard away from my head, excitement

and anxiety got the better of him and he came charging down, yelling at the sergeant to shoot or to lower his gun. The sergeant made the mistake of touching my arm to lead me to the prison van. It was like a signal. The crowd surged forth. My other arm was grabbed by some Congresswomen and I thought I would be torn asunder. Somehow we all survived. There was no firing though rifle butts were used and many were hurt. A large number of us, men and women, including my husband and me were arrested. The ride to the jail was rather an extraordinary one, for the police in my van were apparently so moved by my talking to them that they apologized, put their turbans at my feet and wept their sorrow because of what their job compelled them to do!

Since earliest childhood I had visited jails either for trials of relations and friends or for unsatisfactory but highly-treasured 20-minute interviews. People have heard of my parents' imprisonments but it is not often realized what a large number of relatives, both on my father's and mother's side (offhand I can think of two dozen names but there were probably more), spent long years in prison. I do not know of any other family which was so involved in the freedom struggle and its hardships.

What a world of difference there is between hearing and seeing from the outside and the actual experience? No one who has not been in prison for any length of time can even visualize the numbness of spirit that can creep over one when, as Oscar Wilde writes — "each day is like a year, a year whose days are long", when day after day is wrapped in sameness and in spite and deliberate humiliation. Pethick-Lawrence said: "The essential fact in the life of the prisoner is that he takes on a sub-human status", herded together like animals, devoid of dignity or privacy, debarred not only from outside company or news but from all beauty and colour, softness and grace. The ground, the walls, everything around us was mud-coloured and so became our jail-washed clothes. Even our food tasted gritty. Through the barred apertures we were exposed to the *loo* and dust-storms, the monsoon downpour and the winter cold. Others had an interview and a letter once or twice a month but not I. My husband was in the same prison. After persistent efforts we were permitted a short interview but soon he was transferred to another town. I kept cheerful and busy, reading and teaching. I took over the entire care of a small baby whose mother I was coaching to enable her to earn her living on her release.

There was no yearning for the outside world, for no one worth while was there. Besides, we had convinced ourselves that we were in for seven years. I was determined to bear all privations and insults smilingly. Many pictures come to mind: the visit of the civil surgeon sent by the Governor of the UP, in view of the public concern over my ill-health. He prescribed a tonic and a special diet including delicacies such as Ovaltine. But hardly was his back turned when the Superintendent tore

up the list and tossed the pieces on the floor. "If you think you are getting any of this," he said, "you are mistaken." This was surprising for I had not asked for anything — even the surgeon's visit was unexpected.

One night we were startled out of sleep by a blood-curdling shriek. Although Zohra was the nastiest and most unpopular of our wardresses, we could sympathize with her terror and agitation, for there was an enormous cobra only a yard from our bars, coiled under one of the clocks which the wardress had to punch on her rounds. So, apart from the imminent danger of snake-bite, there was the legitimate fear of losing her job. We were locked inside the barrack and she within the outer wall. There was no stick or other weapon. Zohra's shouts, now frightened, now exasperated, now bullying, now entreating, did nothing to shake the calm of the sentry outside, who wanted detailed information regarding the exact location of the snake, specifications of its length and breadth and so on. "*Are kambakht* (O you unfortunate one)!" shouted Zohra, "Have I got a tailor's tape to measure it from head to tail?" It was several hours before the sentry could be persuaded to call the matron. Her house was three furlongs away and she in turn had to walk to the Superintendent's house to awaken him, before they could go together to the main office to fetch the key to the women's prison. By the time this little procession entered our enclosure, we had long since fallen philosophically asleep and the snake had glided away.

Another day, we barely escaped being burnt to death. It was war time and the Cantonment was crowded with not only British but Americans and Canadians as well. A Canadian ace pilot was smitten by our Superintendent's attractive daughter. Once he was flying low over her house, as was his wont, when his wing touched a telegraph wire and burst into flames. We saw it falling towards us at alarming speed but it just skirted the jail wall and dashed into a half-built bungalow not far away.

All things pass and so did this. My unexpected release was like coming suddenly out of a dark passage. I was dazzled with the rush of life, the many hues and textures, the scale of sounds and the range of ideas. Just to touch and listen was a disturbing experience and it took a while to get adjusted to normal living.

Article in *Women on the March*, September 1963.

On Mahatma Gandhi

Each person's understanding of Gandhiji is a measure of his own change and growth. Whilst he was alive, many of my age group found it difficult to understand him. Some of us were impatient with what we considered to be his fads, and we found some of his formulations obscure. We took his Mahatmahood for granted, but quarrelled with him for bringing mysticism into politics.

This applied not only to my generation. In his autobiography, my father describes the difficulty which he and others of his generation felt in integrating Gandhian ideas into their own thought structure. But little by little, the experience of the ebb and flow of our national movement enabled my father to arrive at a fuller understanding of Gandhiji and to weave the essential elements of Gandhiji's thinking into his own. He called him a "magician" and devotedly attempted to translate Gandhian thought into contemporary terms, to make it more comprehensible and to extend its influence to young people and intellectuals.

Gandhiji himself did not demand unquestioning obedience. He did not want acceptance of his ends and means without a full examination. He encouraged discussion. How many times have I not argued with him, even when a mere girl? He regarded no honest opinion as trivial and always found time for those who dissented from him — a quality rare in teachers in our country or in prophets anywhere. He was an untypical prophet also in that he did not lay claim to revelation. He held forth neither blandishment of reward nor fear of punishment. Nor was he weighed down by the burden of his mission. He was a saint who quipped and had use for laughter.

The centenary year of Gandhiji's birth also marks the fiftieth anniversary of the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy. Those who confuse rigidity or harshness with strength would do well to ponder over the far-reaching effects of this so-called strong-handed action on the future of the British Empire. Seldom has a single event so moved an entire nation, shocking it into a reappraisal of values and aims. It made a powerful impact on men like my grandfather and the Poet Rabindranath Tagore. Tagore gave up his knighthood and wrote passionately and understandingly on the problems of colonialism. My grandfather, along with the entire family, was drawn into Gandhiji's circle. Our lives changed. The mood of the entire country changed. It was the year which brought Gandhiji to the helm of our political movement. Looking back on this half century, we are better able to realize the full impact of his personality and of his teaching, though a total assessment is still beyond us. We are too near to him, and still in a state of transition. Not for decades will we be able to wholly measure the extent of his work for India and for all mankind. Even so, one cannot but marvel at the turn Gandhiji gave to our history in that one year. It was as though with his two thin hands he lifted up a whole people. What changes he brought about in the personal lives of such a vast number

of people, eminent and humble alike. To be the prime mover of politics is not a greater achievement than to influence so profoundly the inner lives of people. Gandhiji differs from his forerunners on the national scene in that he rejected the politics of the elite and found the key to mass action. He was a leader, closely in tune with the mass mind, interpreting it and at the same time moulding it. "He was the crest of the wave but they (the people) were the wave itself."

Gandhiji freed us from fear. The political liberation of the country was not the culmination but a mere by-product of this liberation of the spirit. Even more far-reaching was the alteration he brought about in the sociological climate of India. Gandhiji set us free also from the walls and fetters of our social tradition. It was his axiomatic assumption of the equality of women and men, of the supposedly low-born and high-born, the urban and the rural, that inducted the masses into the Gandhian movement. In the long history of India, every reformer has fought against the hierarchy of caste and the debasement of women but no one succeeded in breaking down discrimination to the extent that Gandhiji did. The women of India owe him a special debt of gratitude. And so do all other groups who suffered from age-old handicaps.

Mahatma Gandhi once wrote: "Let no one say that he is a follower of Gandhi. It is enough that I should be my own follower. I know what an inadequate follower I am of myself, for I cannot live up to the convictions I stand for." The Gandhians would have us believe that Gandhiji evolved a universal philosophy, analysing everything, reconciling everything and prescribing for every contingency. How unfair this would be to a man who never assumed omniscience and never stopped his experiments with truth and understanding. He was an integrated being but he did not deal in absolutes. Few men were greater idealists than he, but few more practical. He propounded fundamental truths, but in every plan of action that he drew up, he proceeded on the basis of "One step enough for me."

The policy of planned industrial development which we have adopted in the last two decades has sometimes been criticized as a calculated abandonment of Gandhism. Those who level this charge and advocate cottage industries do not themselves refrain from using the products of large industry such as aircraft, automobiles and telephones. Gandhiji did not shun the railways, and he was a punctilious user of watches. And if we use railways and watches, does it make sense not to manufacture them ourselves? Gandhiji's advocacy of cottage industries should therefore be understood in the correct context. He was intensely concerned with poverty. He abhorred waste. He wanted to use the latent energies of the vast army of rural unemployed to produce more goods for the nation and some wealth for themselves. Then again, like other sensitive men before him he was reacting to the brutal effects of the first phase of industrialization.

As a seer concerned with the ultimate condition of man, he wanted to caution us against becoming prisoners of our own devices. In his copious writings on the place of the machine, there are many passages which show that Gandhiji's outlook was broader and more humanely practical than some literalist interpreters would have us believe.

To me Gandhiji is a living man who reminds one of the highest level to which a human being can evolve. Steeped in the best from the past he lived in the present, yet for the future. Hence the timelessness of his highest thoughts. Much that he said and wrote was for the solution of immediate problems; some was for the inner guidance of individuals. His intellect did not feed on derived information. He fashioned his ideas as tools in the course of his experiments in the laboratory of his own life.

Speaking of Gandhiji's work in South Africa, Gopal Krishna Gokhale said that he made heroes out of clay. Sometimes I wonder whether we have not become clay again. The exaltation which a truly great teacher produces in his time cannot last very long. But the teaching and thought of such people have a reach farther than their own time and country. We who were born in Gandhiji's own time and country have a special obligation to cherish his image. More than his words, his life was his message.

It is not despite but through one's time and place that a man achieves true universality. Gandhiji identified himself totally with the common people of India. For this he even changed his mode of dress. Yet he was receptive to the best thought from other parts of the world. The impact of his days in England and South Africa as a student and practitioner of law was evident in his insistence on sanitation and in his habit of examining all that he heard by strictly applying the Evidence Act. But he assimilated everything he adopted and evolved Indian solutions to Indian problems.

Another of his glorious legacies is the secularism for which he gave his life. Secularism means neither irreligion nor indifference to religion, but equal respect for all religions — not mere tolerance, but positive respect. Secularism demands constant self-examination and unceasing exertion. That great truth is inscribed on rocks by Ashoka, that no man reverences his own religion unless he reverences others' religion also. India has been great and has risen high in those periods when the truth was acknowledged and practised by her rulers. In our times Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru made it a living reality for us. Without it there is no future for our nation.

I hesitate to speak of the other great teaching left us by Gandhiji, non-violence. I hesitate not because I find any justification for violence but because mankind has accumulated such a fearful store of weapons of destruction that I sometimes wonder whether we have any right to hope. Wars still erupt here and there but even more distressing and alarming is the growth in all parts of the world of hatred in thought and violence in action, and the reckless recourse to the agitational approach. Gandhiji

said: "In the midst of darkness, light persists." We must have faith. The ultimate justification of Gandhiji is that he showed how armed strength could be matched without arms. If this could happen once, can it not happen again?

Life means struggle and the higher you aim, the more you wish to achieve, the greater is the work and sacrifice demanded of you. Men of all religions have evoked the eternal truths. It is the great good fortune of India that she has given birth to great sons who have again and again revitalized her ancient thought to make it a part of the lives of the people. In our own lives, we were guided through perilous times by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru who merged themselves in the general good. Each complemented the other. Each taught that every decision should be put to the acid test of its relevance to the welfare of the multitude. More than any "ism", this guiding principle will save us from error. As my father said:

"... the great prayer that we can offer is to take a pledge to dedicate ourselves to the truth, and to the cause for which this great countryman of ours lived and for which he has died."

Article in "Mahatma Gandhi : 100 Years" October 1969.

It is difficult to say when I first came into contact with Gandhi. He forms part of my earliest memories and as a very small child I regarded him not as a great leader but more as an elder of the family to whom I went with difficulties and problems which he treated with the grave seriousness which was due to the large-eyed and solemn child I was. Later, I disagreed with many of his ideas and had long discussions with the usual dogmatism of the very young who think that they have all the answers. It is only as one's experience and knowledge grow that the widening of the horizon brings into view an unending vista of fields to conquer and peaks beyond our reach or comprehension.

Even as I was thus arguing with him, I was amazed at his patience, his interest in and awareness of the minutest details and the real pain he felt at any wrongdoing. . . .

I came really close to him only towards the end, when in the aftermath of Independence came trainloads of refugees from Pakistan with harrowing tales of murder, rape and loot, which started off the nightmare of retaliation in Delhi and Punjab. I was new in Delhi, I had a tiny baby and was far from well, but Gandhi sent for me to work in the terror-stricken Muslim areas of the city. It was a dangerous work and the one calculated to bring the utmost unpopularity, and yet one could not say "no" to the plea: "I trust you to see this work through. I have asked several others and they have replied 'Yes, Bapu', but I know they are still hesitating." For months I spent over twelve hours a day in the worst trouble spots. Whenever possible I went to Bapu to report and these visits gave me fresh strength; but on many days there just wasn't the time. On these occasions he would send a message or a flower. At last, peace reigned again in the narrowest *gali* and Hindu-Muslim neighbours were shaking hands and visiting one another's homes. I was exhausted and on the verge of collapse. Gandhi packed me off to Lucknow for a rest, with the wonderful words, "Now I know your education and your years abroad have not been wasted."

The last time I met Gandhi was the day before his assassination. He sent a message telling us that he was free and would like us to come over. Just as I was getting into the car, our *mali* gave me a jasmine *veni* for my hair. It was so fresh and fragrant that I did not use it but put it on Gandhi's bedside table. All the time we were talking, my son Rajiv, then three and a half years old, played with the flowers, decorating Gandhi. Sometimes he would slip the *veni* on his feet like an anklet. Sometimes he would hang it on to his big toe. Bapu was in a remarkably relaxed mood and we talked of many things and of the film which we had seen the night before and to which he had not allowed his Asram girls to go. We had not found it a very pleasant experience and Gandhi told us that he had known what it would be like, because of the person who made it. He explained *gali* — lane. *mali* — gardener. *veni* — flowers threaded together.

how each person was being subtly moulded and formed by his own thoughts and actions day by day and how these affected the quality of his work. He laughed and joked and was full of fun. Little did we guess that we would never see his wide toothless smile again, nor feel the glow of his protection.

Article in *Gandhi Marg*, Vol. No. 3, July 1957.

On Jawaharlal Nehru

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolized some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps, outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilization, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling — these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realized that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognized that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the "cold war". Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historians to assess. What we do know

is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the "third world" as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.

Foreword to the *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*.

My father once said that to do justice to Gandhiji, one should be almost as great as Gandhiji himself. I think, perhaps, this is true of Jawaharlal Nehru himself and I certainly do not claim the ability to interpret his many-faceted personality. His spirit was so vital, his range of interest so wide and his undertakings so varied, I do not know if we will ever know the man completely. The deliberate misunderstandings about him and his personality had been created during his lifetime by certain sections of our own people and these were taken up and exaggerated by foreign observers or experts, as they are sometimes called. But he remained throughout unshakable himself.

There are only two stories which come to mind just now. One was the famous "banyan tree". I personally think that nothing could have been more untrue about him because it was our constant complaint — especially mine and also of many young people and others — that he did allow everybody to grow, even those who should not be, even those whom we considered to be weeds, to put it frankly, and he did allow them to grow even though they were constantly threatening him. This was one story.

The other, of quite a different type, was about his wearing a Gandhi cap. Time and again, in almost every book about him I have read, it says that he wore a Gandhi cap because he looked more handsome in it. Now this is a matter of judgment. I know that when we were discussing the question of bringing out a stamp on him, I know that when various famous photographers wanted him to pose, the unanimous verdict was that he must take the cap off because of the beauty of his head. But in India, especially in North India, it is a mark of disrespect sometimes not to have your head covered and certainly during the Independence movement the Gandhi cap had a particular association and it was worn as much for itself as a mark of defiance, a mark of assertion of what one believed in and what one was fighting for.

I have only mentioned these two very small points to show how something is picked up and it goes on pursuing you, no matter how much you try to shake it off.

Well, there are so many books about him. I do not think I have even seen half of them. But I am sure you will all agree that he was his own best biographer. It is not only his *Autobiography*, *The Discovery of India*, and vast quantities of writings and speeches which reveal different aspects of a fascinating personality in which merged the personal, the national and the international, but his thoughts and his actions were so closely inter-woven in the unfolding story of India and they provided much of its drama and influenced its trend. These are some of the reasons which prompted this compilation of an authentic record of Jawaharlal Nehru's writings and speeches.

Three of his books are famous and are perhaps the most authoritative

guide to his thinking. But there is much more which is worth preserving and presenting for the benefit not only of the specialists and scholars but of the earnest citizen who would like to have a deeper understanding of his heritage. We were, by and large, a writing family. That is, each person, young or old, had his or her field of activities which kept him very busy. So the only way we could communicate, not necessarily a serious message but even some joy which we felt or some joke which we felt should be shared, was by putting it down in writing and leaving notes in various places where we hoped they would come to notice. And of course, because of his position and the type of work he undertook and later because of being Prime Minister naturally there were very much more to write about and the very quantity of what he produced is quite astounding.

Although the *Glimpses of World History* was especially written for me, I think I have felt closest to the *Discovery* and perhaps it is because I was entrusted with the reading of the proofs. And the very day the volume arrived from the publisher I came under an attack of mumps. So, it is not an experience that I will easily forget. Mumps, as you know, is one of those illnesses which are hilarious to the person who comes and sees it but extremely painful for the person who has got it. So, I have very special memories of the early days of this book. This *Discovery* was completed in 1944 and he had twenty more years of crowded creative life, record of which he kept in copious letters, speeches, documents and all of which are well worth studying. . . .

Some very important and even historic documents will have to be left out because of reasons of official secrecy. It is estimated that the series will run into 20 volumes. Someone questioned the appropriateness of applying the word "selected" to such a bulky series. Had the yardstick been that of throwing light on current history much more would have to be included because from the literary and intellectual point of view so much of what he wrote was of extraordinary quality.

Most of you have heard of the fortnightly letters which he wrote to his ministerial colleagues and Governors. He took great pains over them and they are a storehouse of knowledge and wisdom on a variety of subjects. The official record shows these fortnightly letters add up to 6,000 pages. That gives some idea of the material which exists. In eighteen years of office he naturally had to write a great deal of routine nature and many of his speeches were of necessity rather repetitive because he was an educator of the people. Through his speeches he reached out to the individual regarding no one as too backward or too uneducated to understand national or international policies or even the intricacies of science and technology.

He was not just a fluent and a prodigious writer. He was meticulous and exacting. He believed in revising and checking what he wrote as

is evident from the manuscripts of his books. This quality made the task of the Editors very difficult. They had constantly to ask themselves what they can leave out in order to compress the material into 20 volumes. . . .

Jawaharlal Nehru integrated our ideals into our national life laying the firm foundation of a secular democracy directed towards socialism. I think the greatest memorial to him is that today the people of India are forward-looking and self-confident.

Speech while releasing Vol. I of *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, January 25, 1972.

A Design for Living

"Take what you want, said God, take it and pay for it." That is an old Spanish proverb. How true it is! But we do not normally look at life in that light.

There is of course belief in the law of *karma* — that good deeds are rewarded and wicked actions bring evil results. We apply the law to moral problems and big issues but do not often think of it in relation to our day-to-day life, our smallest habits, our thinking and our doings. However, just as little drops of water make the mighty ocean, so do these little things gradually mould our bodies and our minds and from them emerge our personalities.

We all realize that we cannot bring home something from a shop without settling the bill. And yet the bigger and deeper things of life we expect to get for nothing: health and beauty, friendship and love, the rights of citizenship and the benefits of democracy. For these, payment cannot be in terms of cash or goods but must take the shape of the cultivation of good habits of thought and action, of constant self-discipline and of service. If we neglect these in our own lives or in the training of our children, Nemesis will catch up with us sooner or later and compel a requital of quite another kind — it is almost as if interest on payment were added — for now it may take the form of physical hardship or mental distress.

Ignorance and negligence inevitably bring retribution. Too much or the wrong kind of food and lack of exercise are amongst the main causes of heart disease and other serious ailments. Too rich a diet or an inadequate one contributes to bad skin, unattractive hair and other such beauty problems. It should be a social obligation for everyone to make the best of her looks and talents with a minimum expenditure of time and money. The price for health is wholesome living with adequate exercise and recreation and above all an occupation which is useful to the community.

Friendship and love even of those closest to us cannot be taken for granted, but have to be constantly renewed by consideration and understanding.

The rights of citizenship bring in their train equally onerous responsibilities — social consciousness and moral obligations, and the realization that "liberty is not the licence to do as you like but the freedom to do as you ought".

Democracy can be maintained only by vigilance and political awareness. It requires voluntary restraint and adjustment to the economic needs of the community. No one has the right to demand the kind of life that pleases him, or even that which might give him the greatest scope for development, regardless of the needs of others.

Years ago a lady came to see me once when my sons had some childhood ailment. She remarked: "Children always have something or

other, that is why I am glad I do not have any.” How could I explain to her that the joy of having children far outweighs the worry and the trouble? And so it is with practically everything in life. The more we give of ourselves the more we receive; only great risks lead to great achievements.

Life is much bigger than any of us but if we meet it with courage, faith and a sense of humour we shall find ourselves equal to the challenge it offers.

Article published in *Women on the March*, January 1959.

Larger Vision

Oxford is a famous, if not the most famous, centre of learning. I thank you for this great honour.

Returning to the quiet and beauty of Oxford and hearing your stately Latin words, one cannot help thinking back. Mine was a highly idealistic generation — or did it seem so because of the people with whom I moved? It was the time when Japan attacked China. There was civil war in Spain. Fascism and Nazism were on the rise. In countries of Asia and Africa, people were struggling for freedom. And we, my friends and I, argued the issues back and forth, far into the night. How passionately concerned we felt, poised for the ultimate sacrifice, innocent in our belief that the good was awaiting our call and our effort, and that democratic freedom, could it but be won, was the gateway to an enriched life for all peoples. We considered progress to be integral to a dynamic society. Our dissent was clearly defined and focussed around the forces of colonialism and totalitarian oppression. For all the uncertainty of the times, we were confident in our capacity and in our direction.

The war is long since over. Freedom has been won by many countries. Science has achieved marvels beyond imagination and has paved the way for new resources of energy. Technology has brought unthought of comfort, speed, increased and more varied production. No one need hunger or want. No country need fight for limited goods. Yet, over vast areas of the world, poverty persists. Societies which are affluent are shaken by restlessness. Today, there is far greater stability and more opportunity, yet never have the young felt more insecure.

Young voices continue to be raised in dissent, but their dissent is no longer rooted in a forward-looking confidence. It seems to arise out of anguish and despair.

Not unnaturally, we in India were fascinated by the achievements of the West and adopted their techniques as a means of achieving a more equitable balance in our society. Technology has indeed helped us — to double our agricultural, and treble our industrial, production. At the same time, it has created new problems and has exerted pressures which have further complicated existing problems. Jobs and opportunities have increased but have not been able to keep pace with the growing number of the educated, and the villagers who can no longer be satisfied with the rural ambience.

Last year I visited one of our rural universities. Eighty-five per cent of the students were those whose parents had not been to school. When a centuries-old tradition is fractured, and elements of choice are introduced, there is bound to be dislocation of the human personality. This is one of the reasons for the feeling of inadequacy among our young people and it has led to imitative tendencies and a sense of alienation.

In the last three decades, the young mind all over the world has been freed from centuries of oppression and authoritarian attitudes,

Section III

The Story of Indira Gandhi in Photographs

The Story of Indira Gandhi in Photographs

This pictorial section traces the main events of Indira Gandhi's life and portrays her in many moods and moments. The 770-odd photographs have been selected from nearly 25,000 which were examined, and they include the work of well-known and little known photographers. Many have been published for the first time, having until now nestled between the covers of family albums. Together they constitute the largest portfolio of pictures of the Prime Minister so far compiled.

A chronological arrangement has been attempted. The collection falls into three natural divisions. The first 226 photographs show the family background and the early years and they take the story up to Indira Nehru's marriage with Feroze Gandhi. The second section, 227 to 384, cover the twenty-four years from the Quit India movement up to her election as leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party. The third part, consisting of nearly 400 photographs, belong to the years of Prime Ministership.

A few words of explanation of the method adopted in the last part. After documenting the historical landmarks of an eventful stewardship, it shows Indira Gandhi at work and at home, with the multitudes who visit her at her residence and with her immediate family. These are supplemented by formal portraits and informal studies.

The captions have been kept to the bare minimum. In a few pictures the editors have had difficulty in identifying all the persons. An example is the group photograph of the Amritsar Congress (Picture No. 32). The editors will appreciate help from readers in this regard, so that more detailed captions can be provided in later editions.

The Early Years



1. The Fort of Allahabad, which stands near the Sangam where the Yamuna meets the Ganga. Allahabad is the birth-place of Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi. *Courtesy: India International Centre*





2



4



5

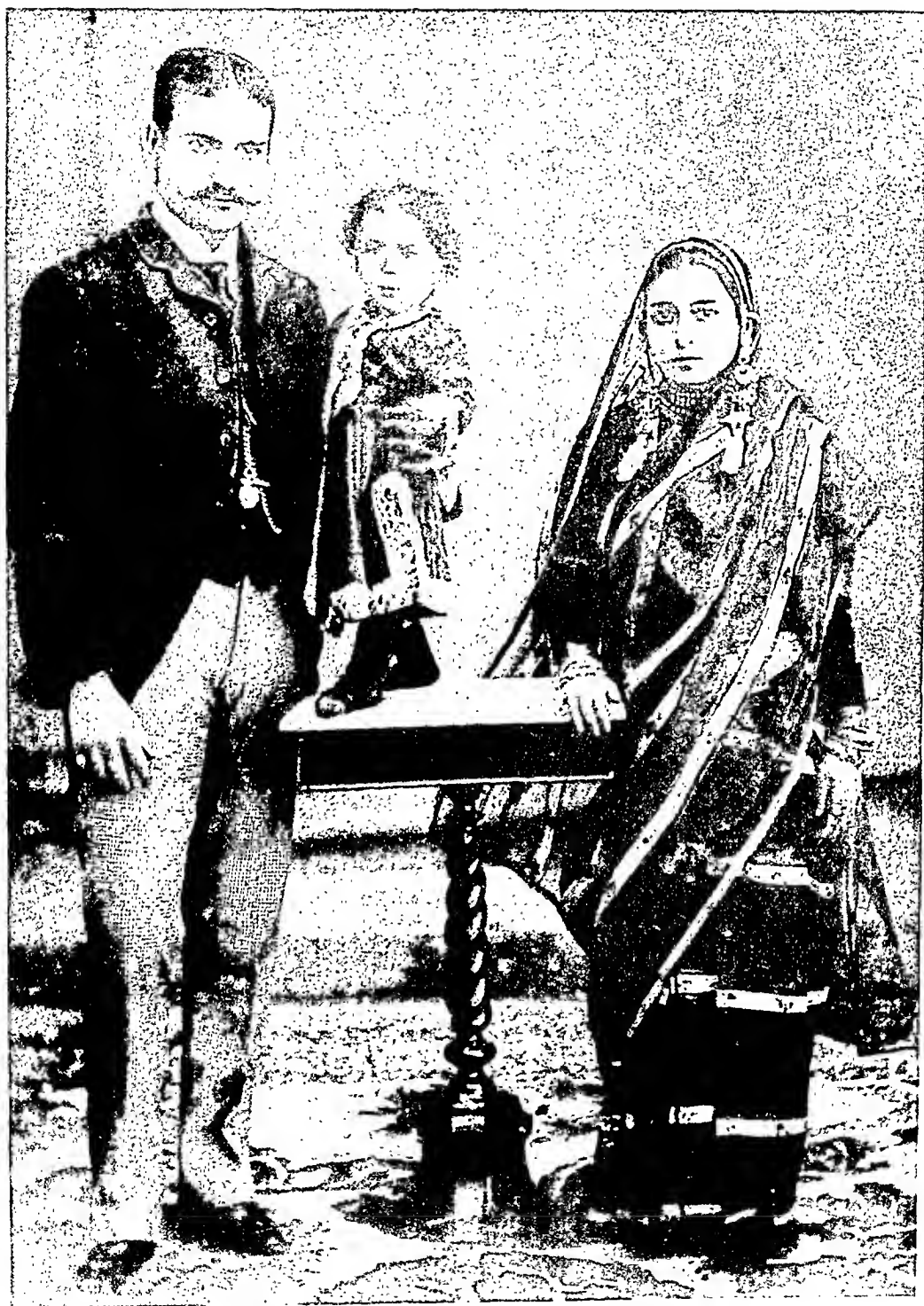


3



6

2. Pandit Ganga-dhar, great-grandfather of Indira Gandhi. 3. Early photograph of Motilal Nehru. 4. Motilal's eldest brother, Bansidhar. 5. Motilal as lawyer. 6. Swarup Rani



7. Motilal and Swarup Rani with Jawaharlal



8

9



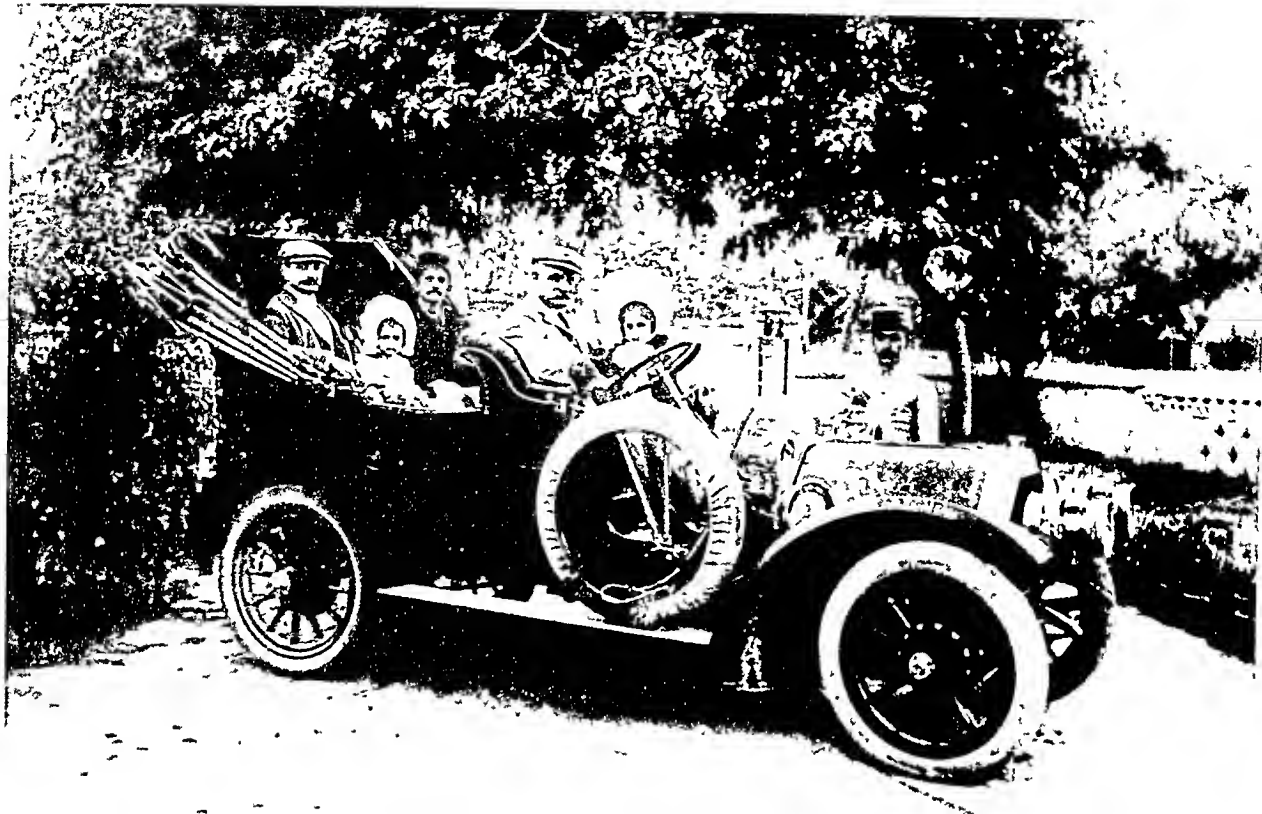
8. Motilal with friends. *Sitting left to right:* Behari Lal Nehru, Jagat Narain Mulla, Maharaj Bahadur Takru, Bishan Narain Mulla, Janki Nath Chak. *Standing right to left:* Motilal Nehru, Bishamber Nath Mushran, Shamlal Nehru and two others. 9. Motilal, on a visit to Kashmir, stands on the roof of a houseboat. Swarup Rani and Jawaharlal are seen second and fourth from the left on the ledge. 10. Motilal and friends under a Chinar in Kashmir. On the ladder is Jawaharlal Nehru. 11. Motilal, Jawaharlal and Swarup Rani



11

10



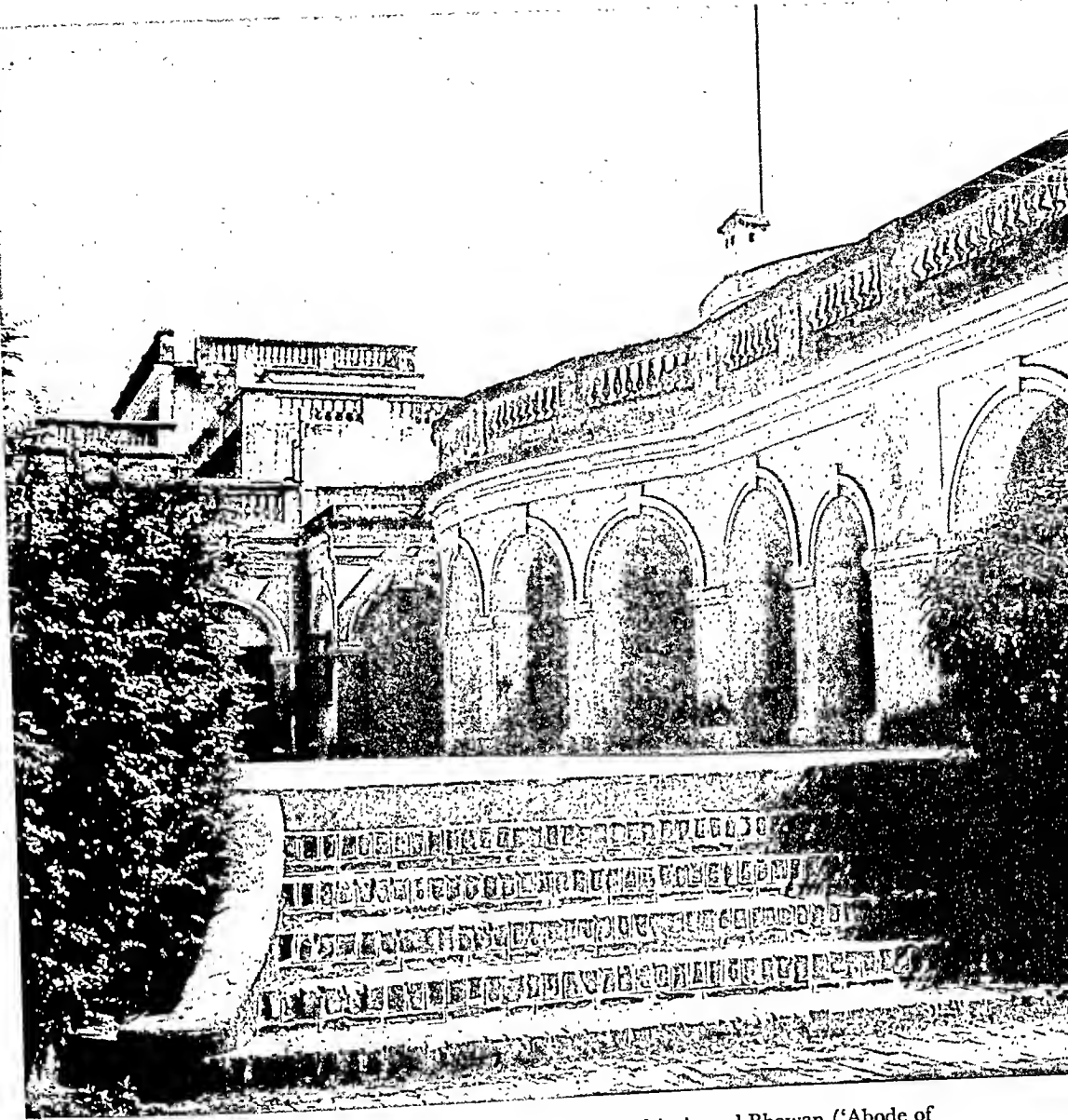


12



13

12. Motilal was the first private citizen in Allahabad to buy a car. Seated next to him is his elder daughter Sarup Kumari (later Vijayalakshmi Pandit).
13. Motilal in another of his cars



14. The house which Motilal Nehru bought in 1900. He called it Anand Bhawan ('Abode of Joy'). Here Indira Gandhi was born in 1917. Motilal built a new and smaller Anand Bhawan on the extensive grounds of the house and donated the larger building to the nation. It was then renamed Swaraj Bhawan ('Abode of Freedom') and was the headquarters of the Indian National Congress until Independence was achieved.



15

15. A group in 1906-07. *Seated from left:* Mrs. Ladorani Zutshi, Motilal, Swarup Rani, and Jawaharlal (on the carpet). *Standing:* Rameshwari Nehru, Brij Lal Nehru and Miss Hooper, the family governess. 16. Motilal's daughters, Sarup Kumari and Krishna Kumari. 17. Swarup Rani. 18. Father and son in England. 19. A fancy dress party in Anand Bhawan. Jawaharlal is at centre of the back row, wearing a turban.



16



17



18

19





20

20 Jawaharlal Nehru (*left in the third row*) as a member of the Allahabad Bar. 21 & 22. Motilal and Jawaharlal in their legal robes. 23. Jawaharlal Nehru and Kamala after they were married on 8 February 1916 in Delhi

21



22







24.





26

24. Jawaharlal and Kamala with members of their families and guests at the wedding. 25. The "Nehru Wedding Camp". 26. Kamala Koul before marriage. 27. Invitation to the marriage dinner

27

*To celebrate
the marriage of his son
Jawaharlal Nehru*

*Pandit Motilal Nehru
requests the pleasure of
your company at dinner on
Wednesday the 9th February
1916 at 8 p.m.*

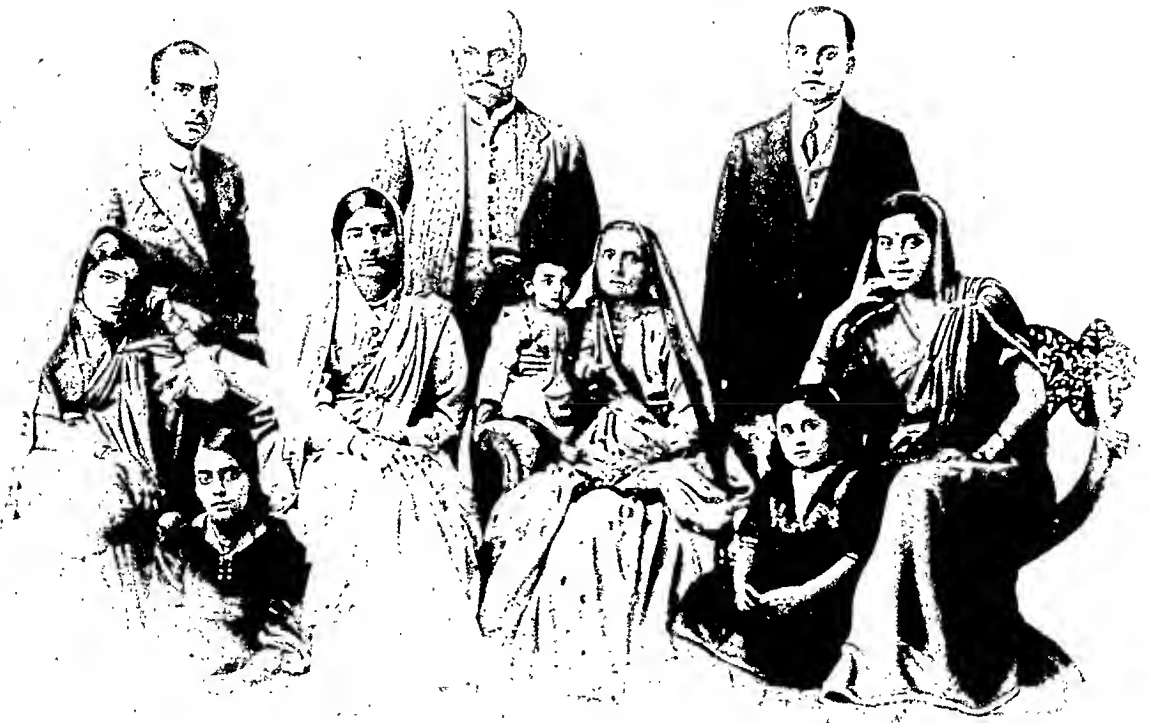
**NEHRU WEDDING CAMP,
ALIPUR ROAD, DELHI.**

R. J. V. P.



28

29





28. Indira Priyadarshini on her first birthday, 1918. 29. The Nehru family in 1918. *Standing left to right:* Jawaharlal, Motilal and Krishanlal Nehru. *Sitting from left:* Sarup Kumari Nehru, Kamala, Indira, Swarup Rani and Mrs. Krishanlal Nehru. *On the floor:* Krishna Kumari Nehru (later Krishna Hutheesing) and Vidya Nehru. 30. Indira in her mother's lap



31. Jawaharlal, Kamala and Indira, 1918



32. At the session of the Indian National Congress at Amritsar, December 1919, over which Motilal Nehru presided. Those seated on chairs include Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Motilal Nehru, Swami Shraddhanand, Annie Besant and Madan Mohan Malaviya. On floor at left extreme is Jawaharlal Nehru. Next to him is S. Satyamurthi.



33. A political procession in Allahabad led by Motilal Nehru and Annie Besant



34



35



Indira

36



37



38

34. Mahatma Gandhi and Motilal Nehru at the founding of Kashi Vidyapith, 1922. 35. Jawaharlal Nehru behind prison bars in 1922. 36. Indira. 37. Indira in the dress of a Congress volunteer, May 1921. 38. Motilal Nehru in homespun. 39. Swarup Rani. 40. Motilal and Swarup Rani at the wedding of their daughter Sarup Kumari (Vijayalakshmi) with Ranjit S. Pandit, May 1921.



41. Kamala Nehru



42



44



43

42. Motilal Nehru with members of his family and some Afghan friends at Naini Tal in 1923. Jawaharlal Nehru is standing at right. Indira is in her grandfather's lap.
43. Indira on a staircase of Anand Bhawan
44. Kamala Nehru and Indira with some nationalist workers. Also seen are Swarup Rani and Krishna Kumari.

इन्दु जी ।

दादू कहते हैं कि
तुम और ज़ममा सिमले
जाओ। वहां से खून मोटे
और लाल होकर जाओ।
इसके साथ एक बेलून भेजता
हूँ ।

पापू का प्यार

८ अक्टूबर १९२३







49

49. Jawaharlal Nehru in prison. 50. Jawaharlal, Kamala and Indira in Europe in 1926
51. The Nehrus with Lala Lajpat Rai (standing next to Kamala Nehru). First from left is Sri Prakasa. 52. A family group in Geneva, 1926.
Clockwise: Kamala, Krishna Kumari, Jawaharlal, Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Indira



50

51

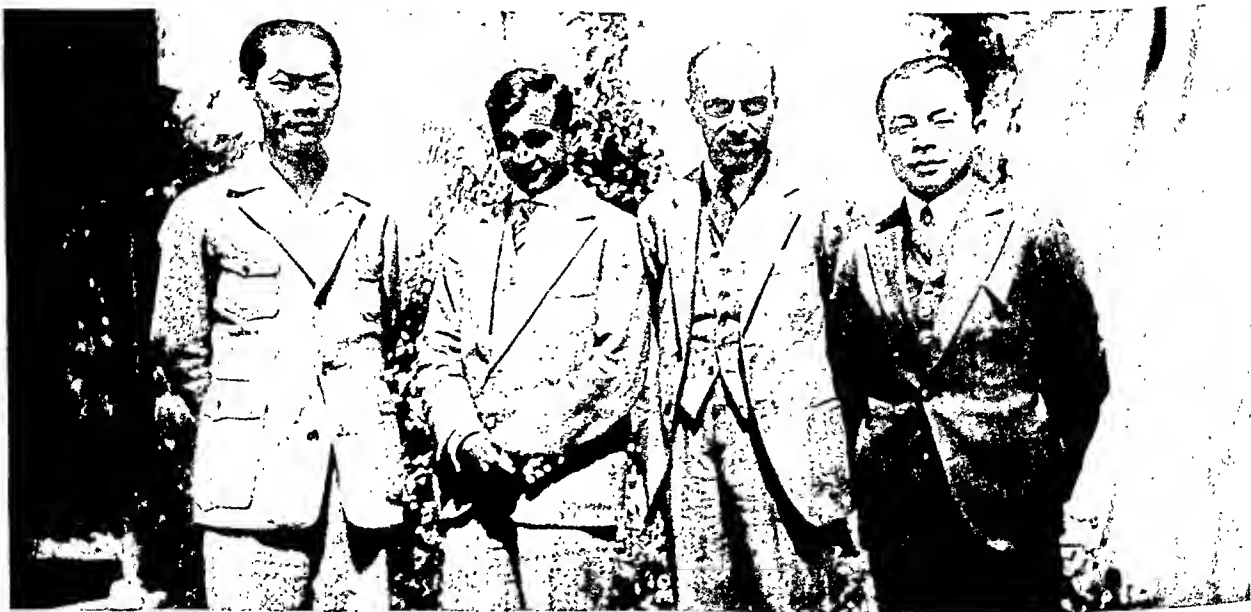






53

54





53. After the launching of the Scindia ship *Jaladuta* in Glasgow in 1927. *From left:* Jawaharlal, Kamala, Motilal, Indira and Krishna Kumari. 54. Jawaharlal Nehru at the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities, Brussels, February 1927. At right is Dr. Mohammed Hatta, who later became Vice-President of Indonesia. 55. Indira in Geneva

56, 57. Indira as a student in Switzerland
58. Indira in Geneva. 59, 60. Kamala in Geneva
61. Indira, 1926

56



57



58



60



Geneva

6-6-26

My dear mamma and papa
I am sorry that
I wasn't good. But from to-day
I am going to be good. And if
I am not good do not speak
to me. And I will try my best
to be good. And I will do
what ever you tell me to do.

Love from your

Indira

63

64



62. Indira with pets. 63. A note from
Indira to her parents, June 1926
64. Exercising in the sun. 65. A
portrait, 1926

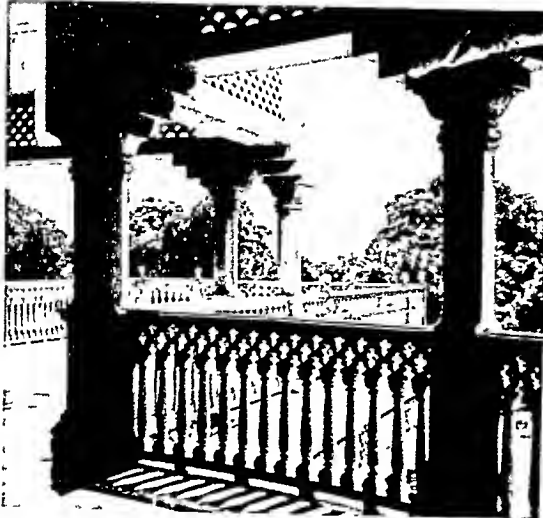


65



66

67



66. The new Anand Bhawan, which was built in 1927. Indira donated it to the nation in 1971.

67. The verandah adjoining the library, on the first floor of Anand Bhawan. The Congress Working Committee often met in the library and Gandhiji addressed meetings from the terrace.

68. The section which housed Jawaharlal Nehru's rooms.—67 & 68 Courtesy of the National Institute of Design, Ahmedabad



68



69



70

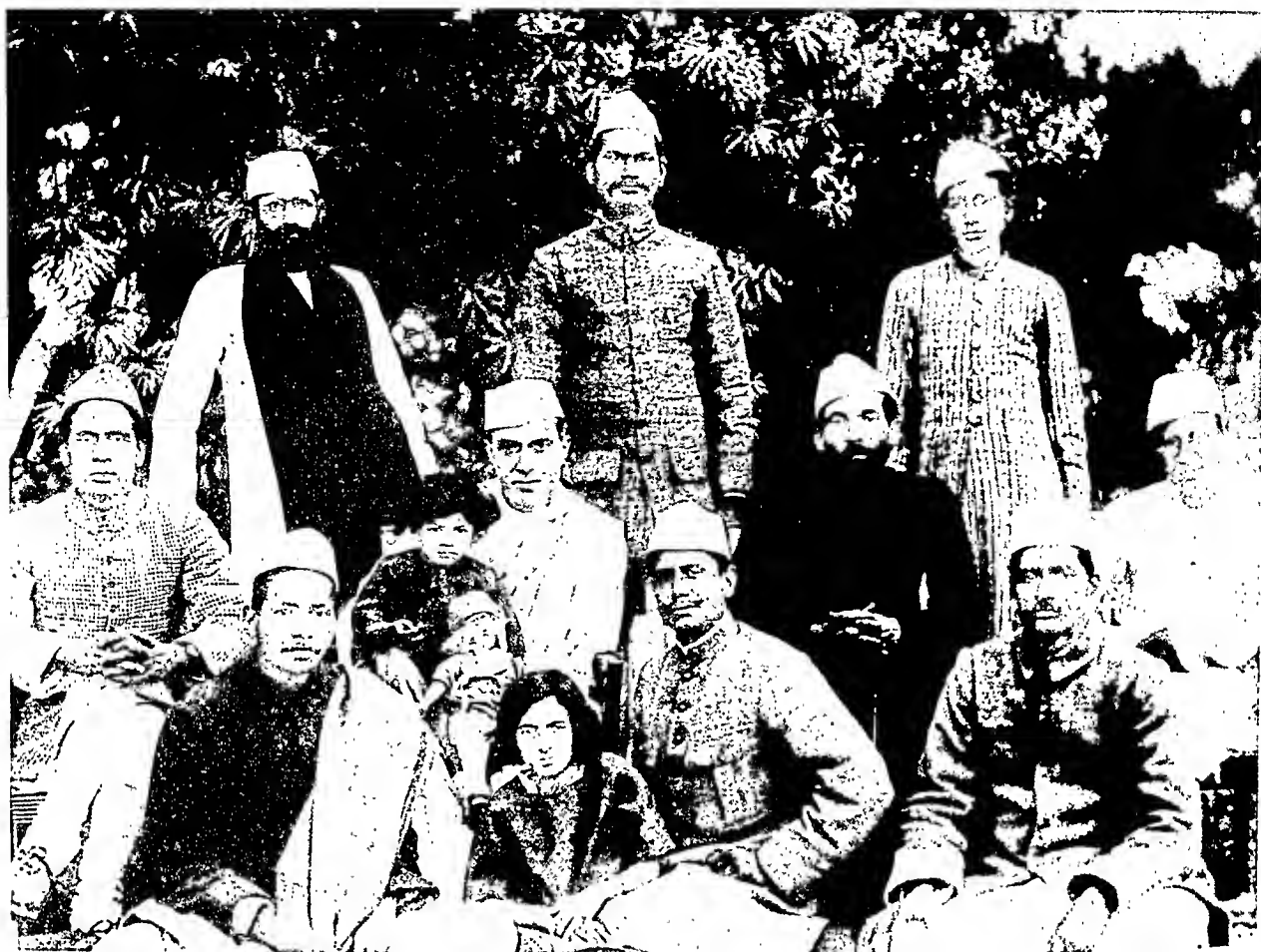


71



72

69. Jawaharlal Nehru. 70. Kamala and Indira. 71. Motilal and Swarup Rani with Chandralekha, daughter of Vijayalakshmi Pandit. 72. The master of Anand Bhawan, Motilal, in his study



73

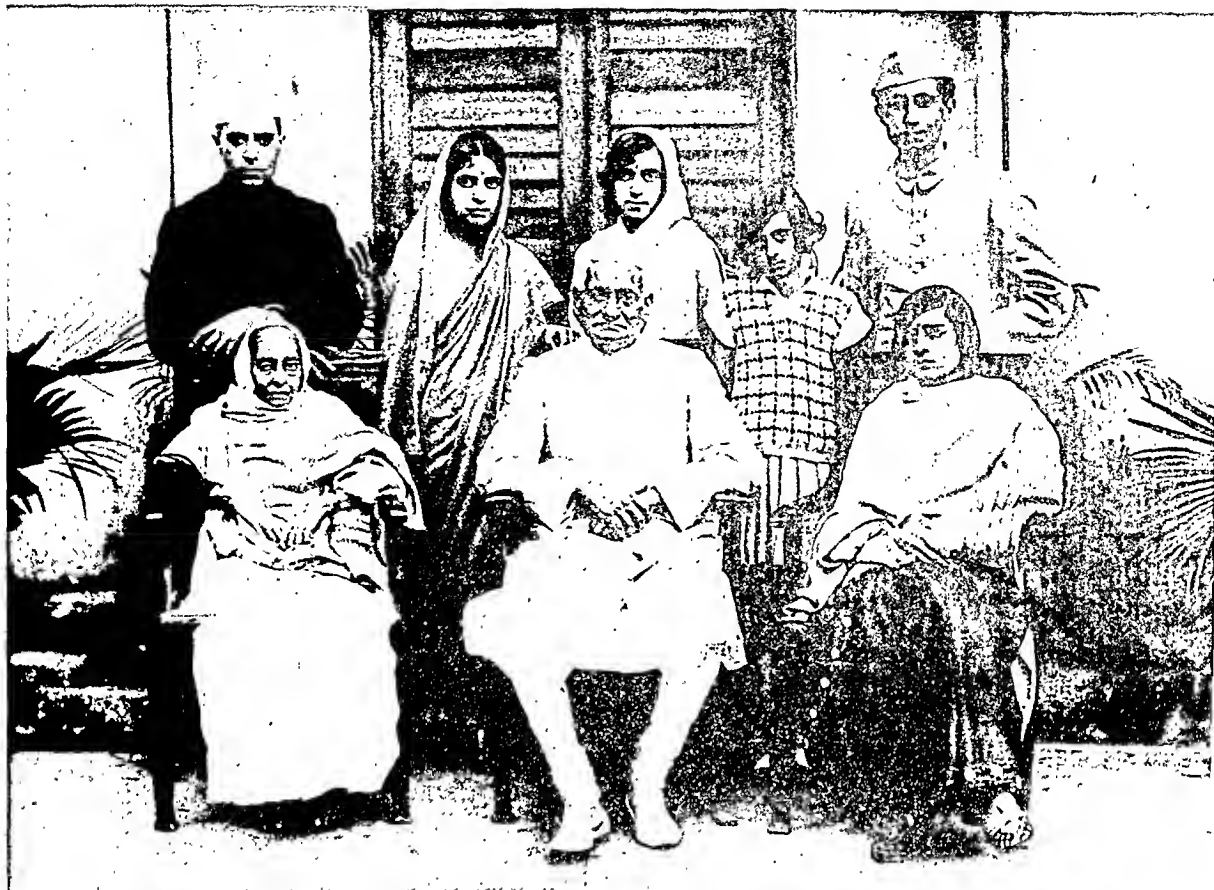


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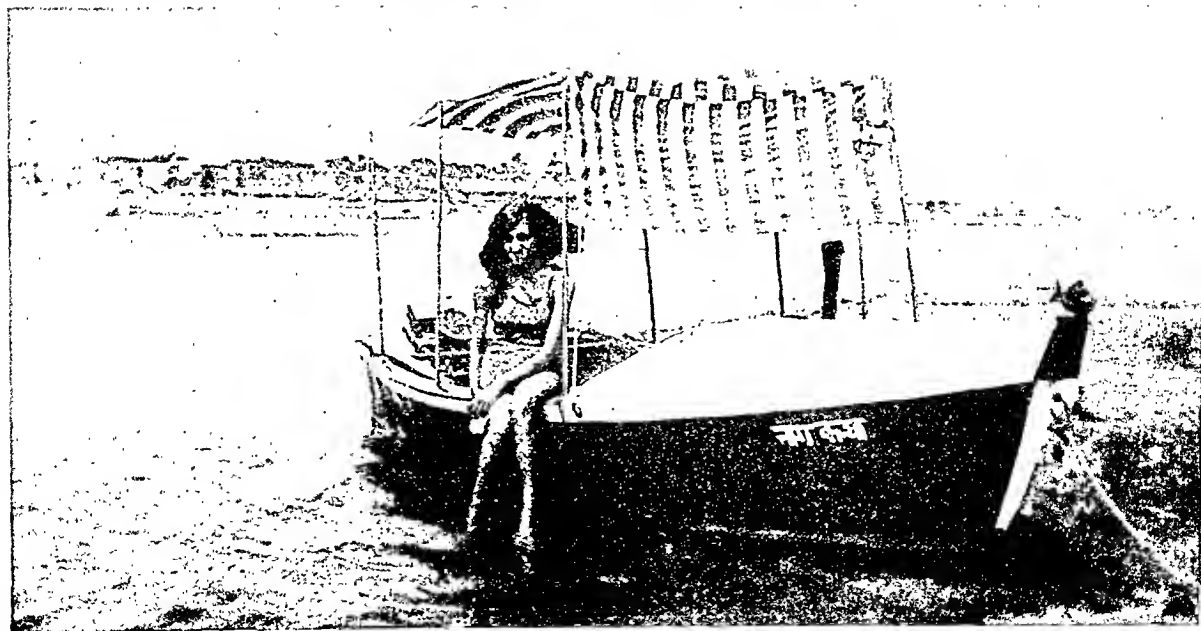
75

73. Jawaharlal Nehru with some co-workers. 74. Jawaharlal with Indira and Chandralekha. 75. Indira on a visit to Panchgani in Maharashtra. 76. The Nehrus in 1929. *Sitting:* Swarup Rani, Motilal and Kamala; *Standing:* Jawaharlal, Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Krishna Kumari, Indira, and Ranjit Pandit. 77. Indira in a boat at the Sangam at Allahabad



76

77





78

78-82. Some portraits of Kamala Nehru. In the last photograph she is seen with Goshiben Captain.



80



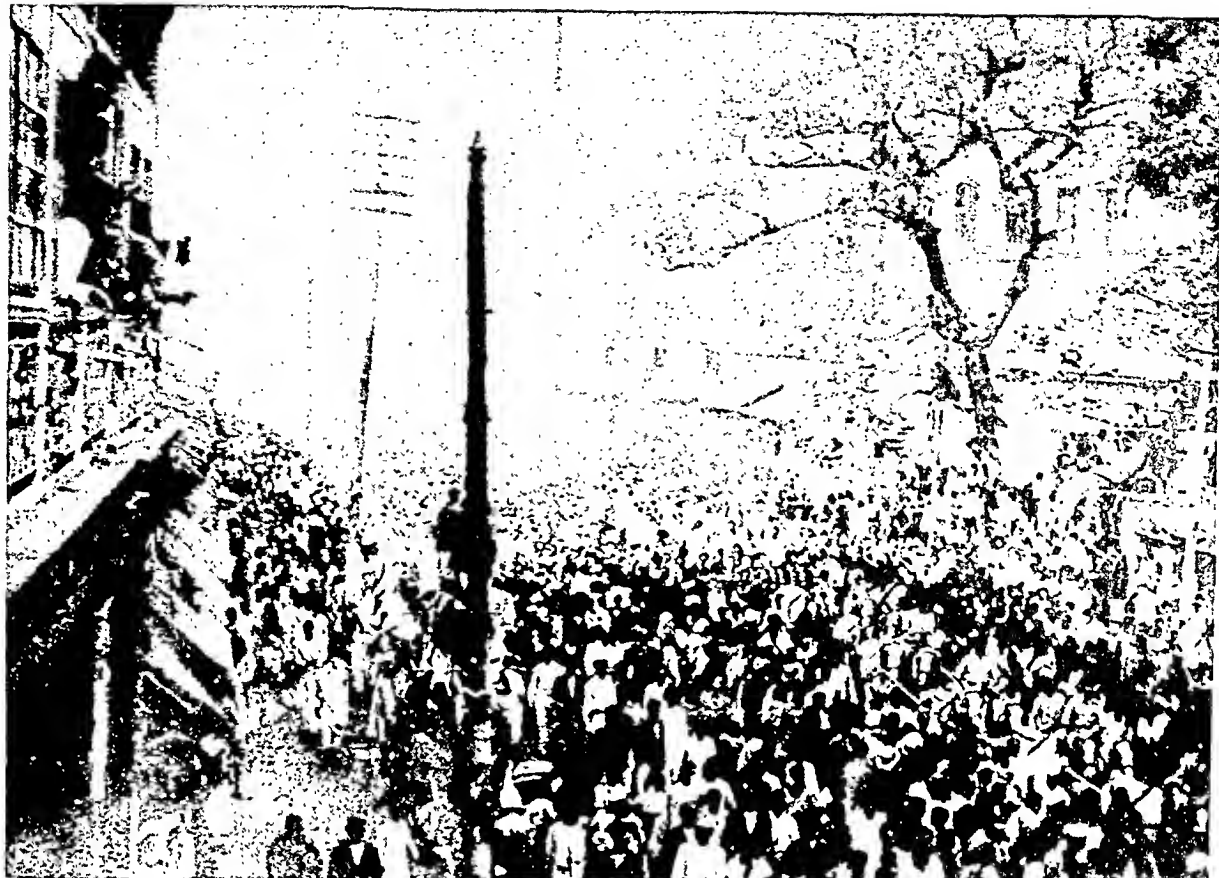
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79



82

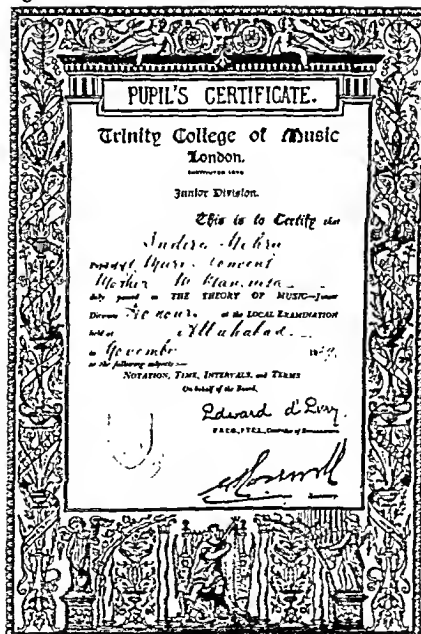


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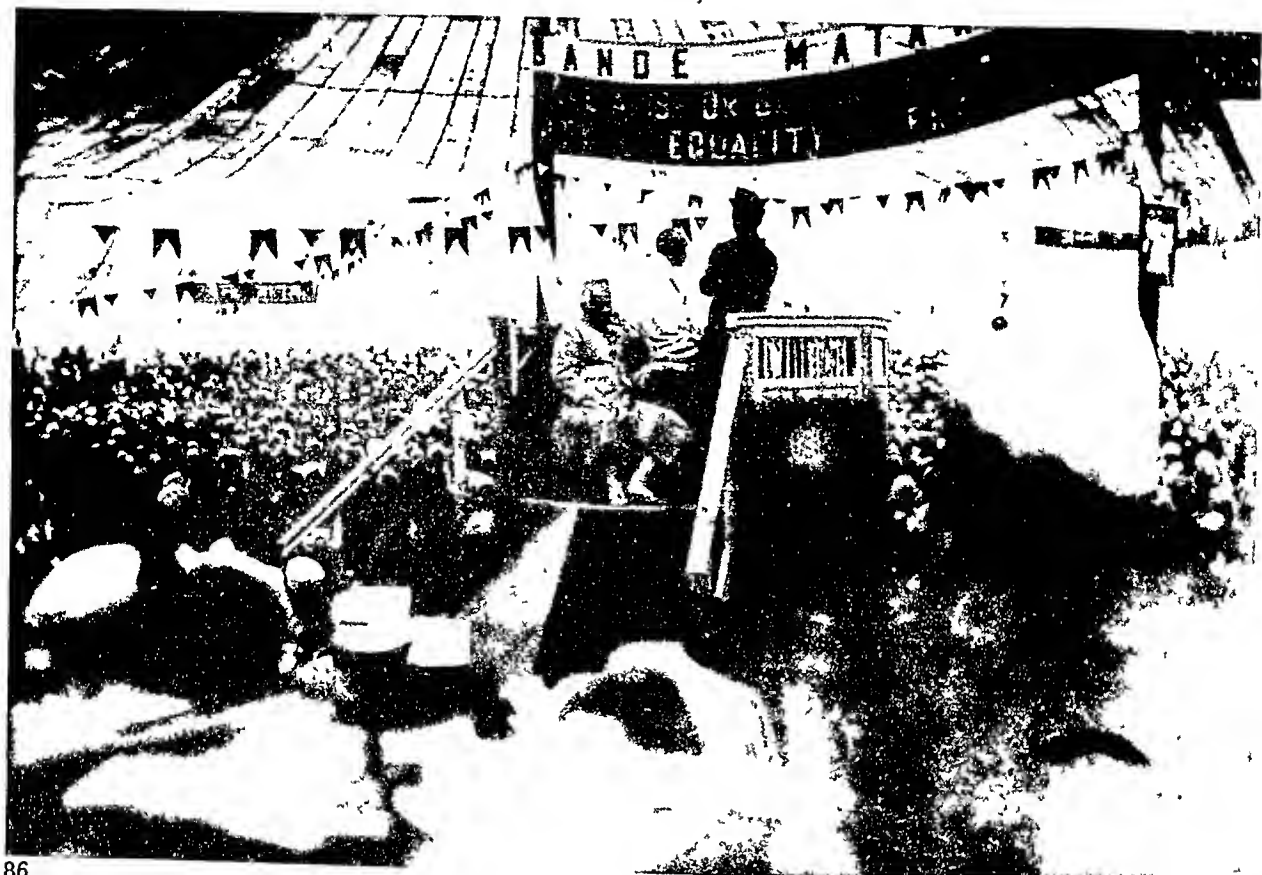
84



85



83. Motilal Nehru, President of the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1928, being taken out in procession
84. Indira in 1929
85. A certificate awarded to Indira for proficiency in music



86

86. Mahatma Gandhi and Motilal Nehru on the rostrum at the Lahore session of the Congress, December 1929. 87. The President-elect of the session, Jawaharlal Nehru. At left are J. M. Sen Gupta, Abul Kalam Azad and M. A. Ansari, and at right, Motilal Nehru, Indira and Abbas Tyabji.

87

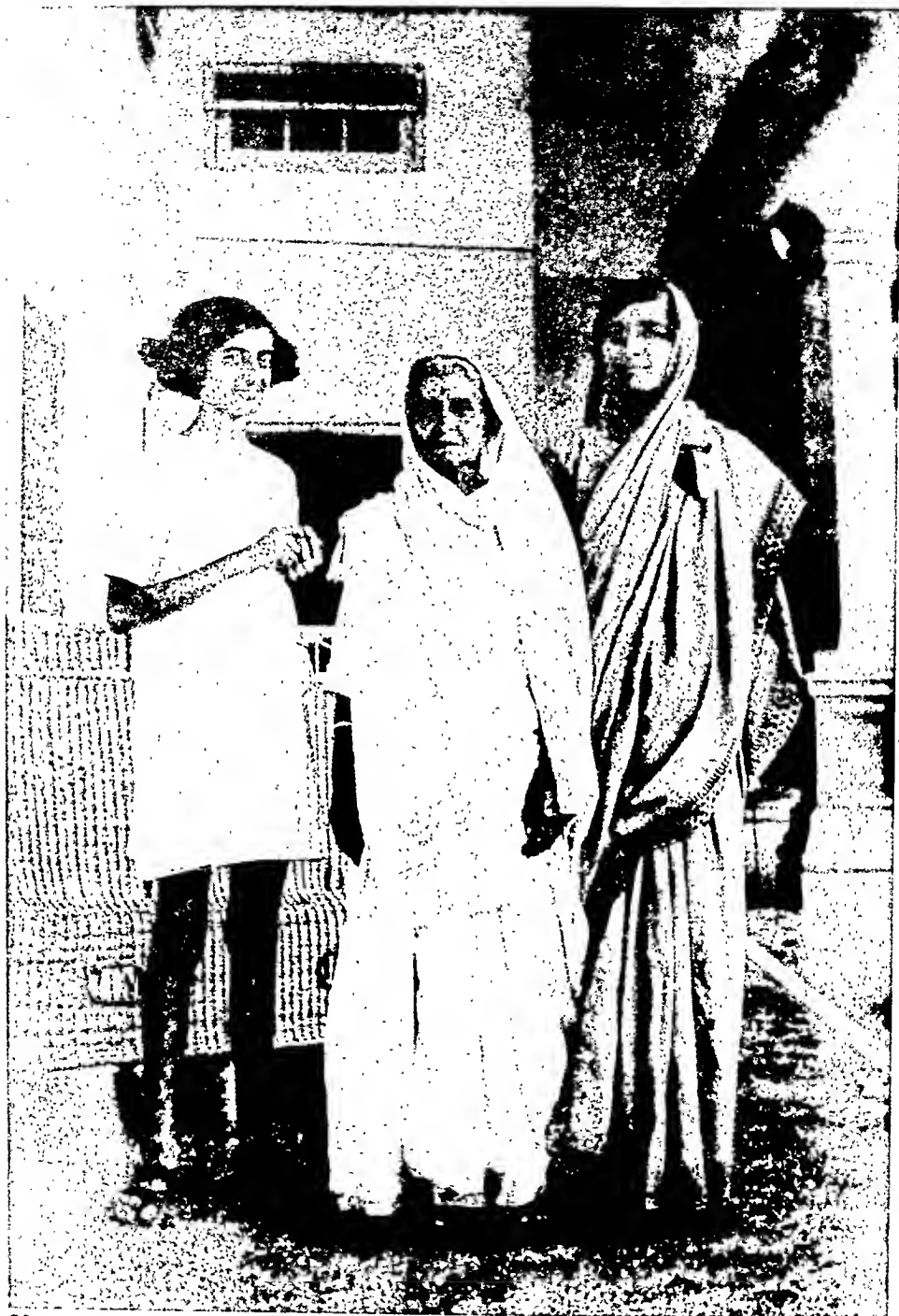




88. Motilal and Jawaharlal, out-going and in-coming presidents of the Congress

89. Jawaharlal Nehru at the flag-hoisting ceremony at the Lahore session

90. Vijayalakshmi Pandit and Krishna Kumari at the delegates' camp at the Lahore Congress. Behind Krishna is Indira.



91

Photographs presumably taken by Jawaharlal
Nehru at Anand Bhawan in early 1930.
91. Indira, Swarup Rani, and Kamala. 92. Swarup
Rani. 93. Motilal





94. Kamala Nehru plying the takli. 95. Some Congress leaders
Sitting: Motilal, Rajendra Prasad, and Abul Kalam Azad. *Standing:* Syed Mahmud, T.A.Q. Sherwani, an unidentified visitor, B.C. Roy, and Sundarlal



96

96. Kamala, Jawaharlal, and Indira in 1930. 97. Motilal Nehru in prison in the twenties. 98. Jawaharlal in prison



97



The
Kashmiri
Dramatic
Association

Presents

"Harish Chandra"

Dramatic Personages

1. Harish Chandra	..	Miss Krishna Kumari Nehru
2. Shaiyya ..	..	Miss Subhadra Vati Katju
3. Companion to Shaiyya ..	..	Miss Lila Vati Katju
4. Shmshan Devi ..	..	Miss L. Katju
5. Rohitashwa ..	..	Miss Indira Nehru
6. Indra ..	..	Master Braj Kumar Nehru
7. Nared ..	..	Master Anand Narain Razdan
8. Vahwa Mitra ..	..	Master Shiva Nath Katju
9. Upadhyaya ..	..	Master Suraj Narain Razdan
10. Batuk ..	..	Master Brijendra Nath Kichlu
11. Chandul ..	..	Master B. Nehru
12. Vuhou Bhagwan ..	..	Master Braj Narain Gurin
13. Dwarpal I ..	..	Master Balwant Kumar Nehru
14. Dwarpal II ..	..	Master Ram Nath Katju



99

100



99. Indira taking part in a play. 100. A studio portrait of a play staged in Allahabad in which some members of the Nehru family took part. 102. Jawaharlal, Kamala and Indira, about the time Indira organized the Vanar Sena.

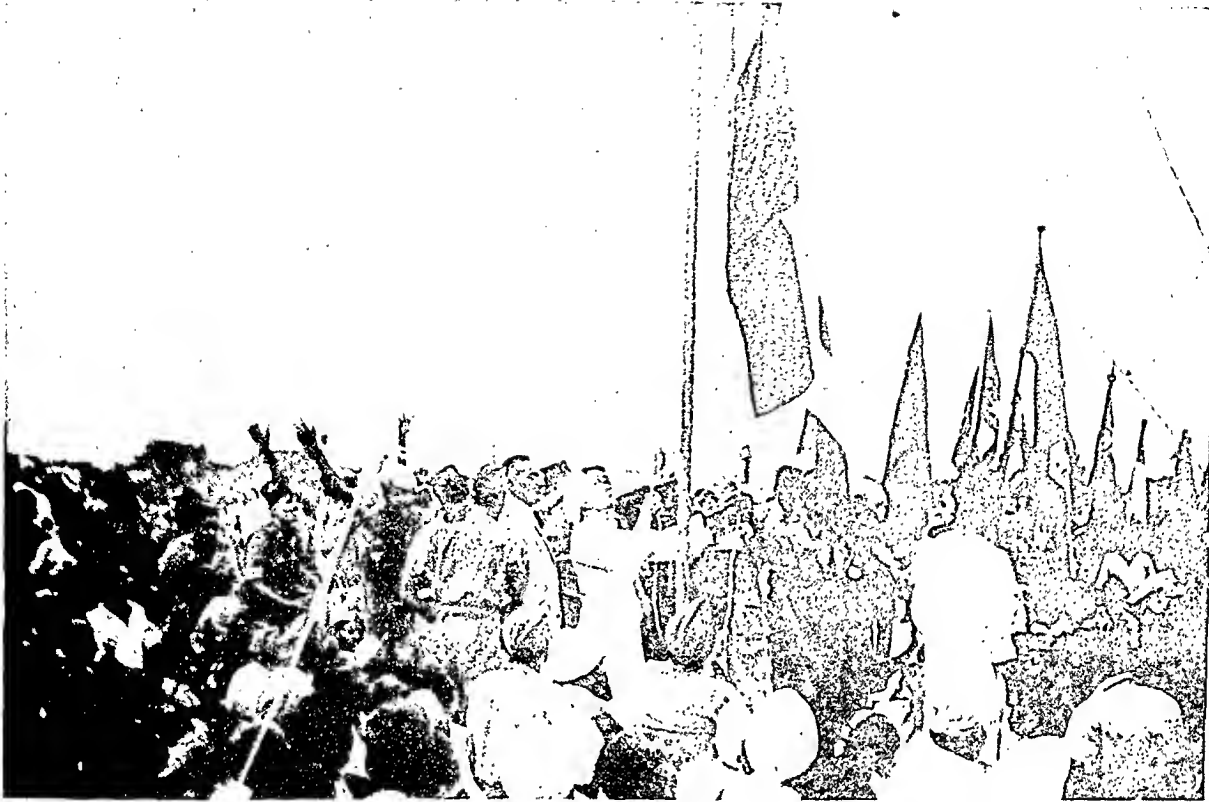


Jawaharlal Nehru

Indira Gandhi

Kamala Nehru



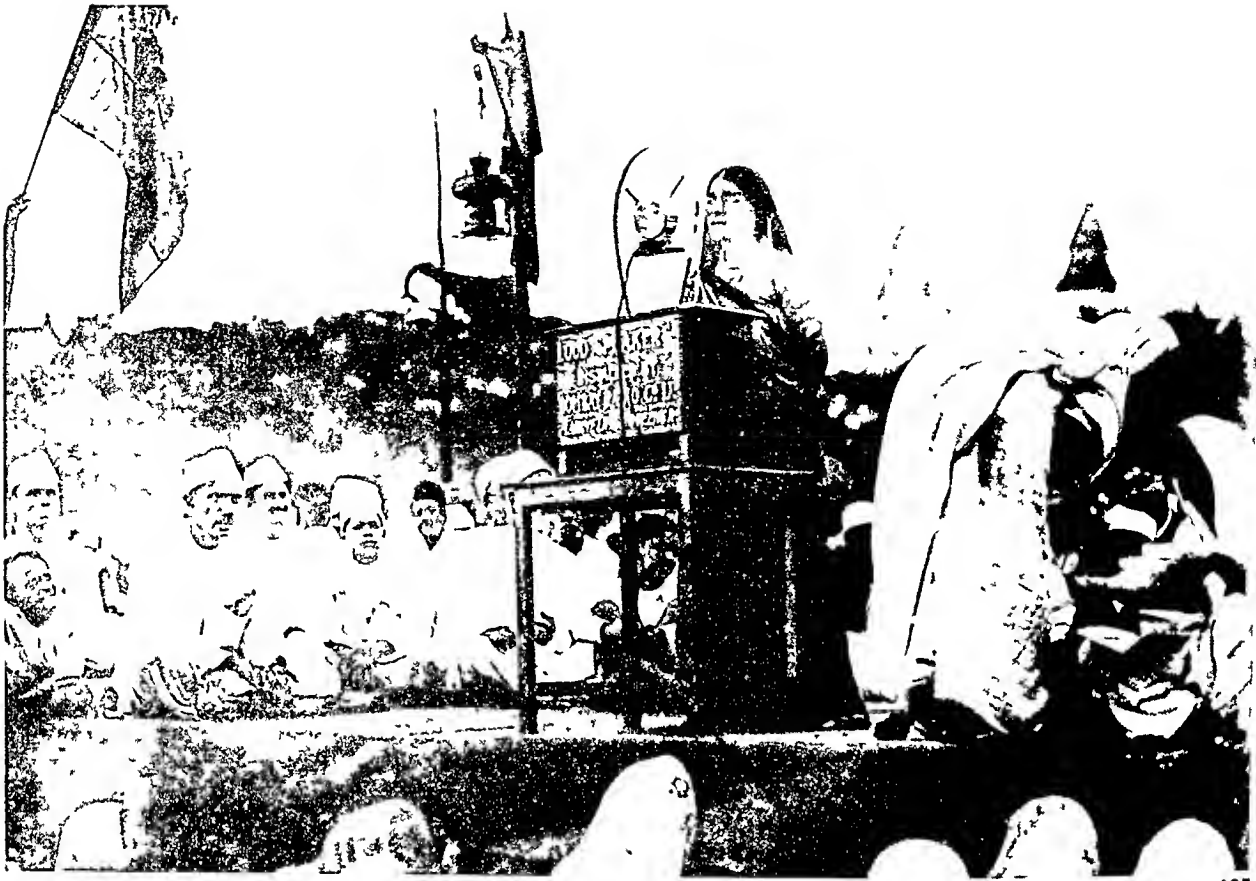


105

103. Kamala Nehru and Kasturba Gandhi (first and second from left) at a meeting in Bombay during the Salt Satyagraha. 104. Satyagrahis at Azad Maidan, Bombay. At centre is Abbas Tyabji and to his left is Kamala. 105. Jawaharlal hoisting the flag at a gathering of the Hindusthan Seva Dal. 106. The Nehrus with political workers. Squatting on the ground are some members of the Vanar Sena.



106



107



107. At a public meeting in the Azad Maidan, Bombay, Kamala Nehru is seated at right on the dais.
108. Some Vanar Sena members from Poona

108



109. Kamala Nehru with volunteers making contraband salt during the Salt Satyagraha at Allahabad. 110. Kamala Nehru. 111. Kamala Nehru and others leading a women's procession in Bombay.



Cubet Puri

Naini

October 26th 1930

For Indira Priyadarshini

on her thirteenth birthday — ~~हार्दिक शुभक~~ ५

My dear, On your birthday you have been in the habit of receiving presents and good wishes. Good wishes you will still have in full measure, but what present can I give you from Naini Puri? My presents cannot be very material or solid. They can only be of the air and of the mind and spirit, such as a good fairy might have bestowed on you — something that even the high walls of prison cannot stop.

You know, sweetheart, how I dislike sermonising and doling out good advice. When I am tempted to do this I always think of a story of a "very wise man" I once read. Perhaps one day you will yourself read the book which contains the story. Thirteen hundred years ago there came a great traveller from China to India in search of wisdom and knowledge. His name was Hsien Tsang and over the river the deserts and mountains of the North he came braving

many dangers, facing and overcoming many obstacles, so great was his thirst for knowledge. And he spent many years in India learning himself and teaching others, specially at the great university of Nalanda which existed then near the city that was called Patliputra and is now known as Patna.



113

114

112. Page 1 and a part of page 2 of the first letter of a series of 196 letters written from prison by Jawaharlal Nehru to Indira between 26 October 1930 and 9 August 1933. These were later published as *Glimpses of World History*. 113. Kamala Nehru at the time of her arrest at Anand Bhawan, 1 January 1931

114. Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru outside the Naini Central Prison, Allahabad, after their arrest on 14 April 1930. Next to Jawaharlal is Harihar Nath Shastri.





115

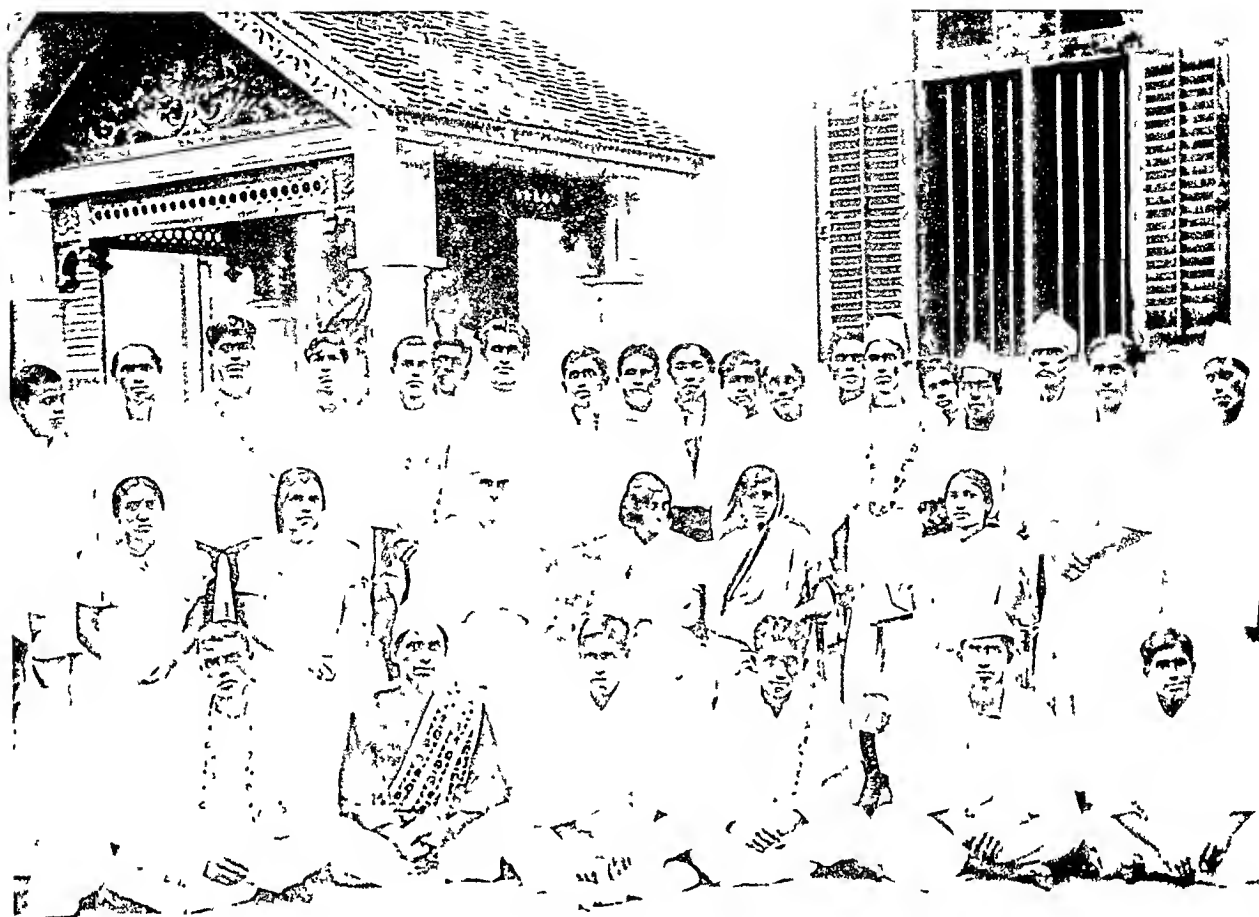
115, 115-A. Motilal Nehru a few weeks before his death on 6 February 1931. 116. Indira, representing her father, meets Mahatma Gandhi in Bombay on his return from the Second Round Table Conference, December 1931. At the centre is J. B. Kripalani. *Courtesy: Vithalbhai Jhaveri.* 117. Jawaharlal, Kamala and Indira with two acquaintances on board the ship to Colombo, April 1931. 118. The Nehrus in Trivandrum during their tour of South India on the way back from Sri Lanka

116



115-A





119



120



121



119. The Nehrus with State Congress workers of Travancore. 120. Kamala Nehru, 1930. 121. Indira with Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya during the Sri Lanka visit. 122. Kamala, Krishna Kumari, Jawaharlal, and Indira. 123. Indira with parents. 124. Indira with mother

122



124





125 Kamala Nehru at the Dakshineswar Temple in Calcutta



125-A. Kamala Nehru



126

From May 1931 to April 1934 Indira studied at the Pupils' Own School, which was run by Jal Vakil and Coonverbai Vakil, first in Poona and then in Bombay. 126. The school group in Poona. Indira is seen second from left. 127. Taking part in a play in the school at Vile Parle, Bombay. 128. A portrait of 1933

127



128

Enclosure in letter to Mr. Kamala Nehru

Jail.

PRISONER'S LETTER.

Alipore Central Jail
Calcutta
March 30. 1934

Darling Indu-bey,

I have not had a letter from you for about six weeks. I suppose you have been well occupied with your work and other things. Some news of you has come to me from other people and I am glad to know that you are keeping well. Soon you will have your examination and I am sure you will do well in it and deserve a good holiday. Will you let me know the dates of your examination and where it will be over? When the result come out? Chhoti Papi wrote to me that she wanted you to stay with her for a week after the exam. Of course you could do so if you liked. But there is another proposal which I want you to think over. Bashi Papi & Rajit Papi & other children are going to Kashmir at the beginning of May for six weeks and they suggest that you might accompany them.

Kashmir is a place well worth visiting and as you know it is our old home land and has a special claim on us. Long, long ago we left it and since then the whole of India has been our home. But the little corner of India which is Kashmir draws us still with its beauty and its old associations. We have not been there for seventeen years or more and you have not been there at all. It is worth visiting when you have the chance. I should have liked to write

Contents admissible under the rules.

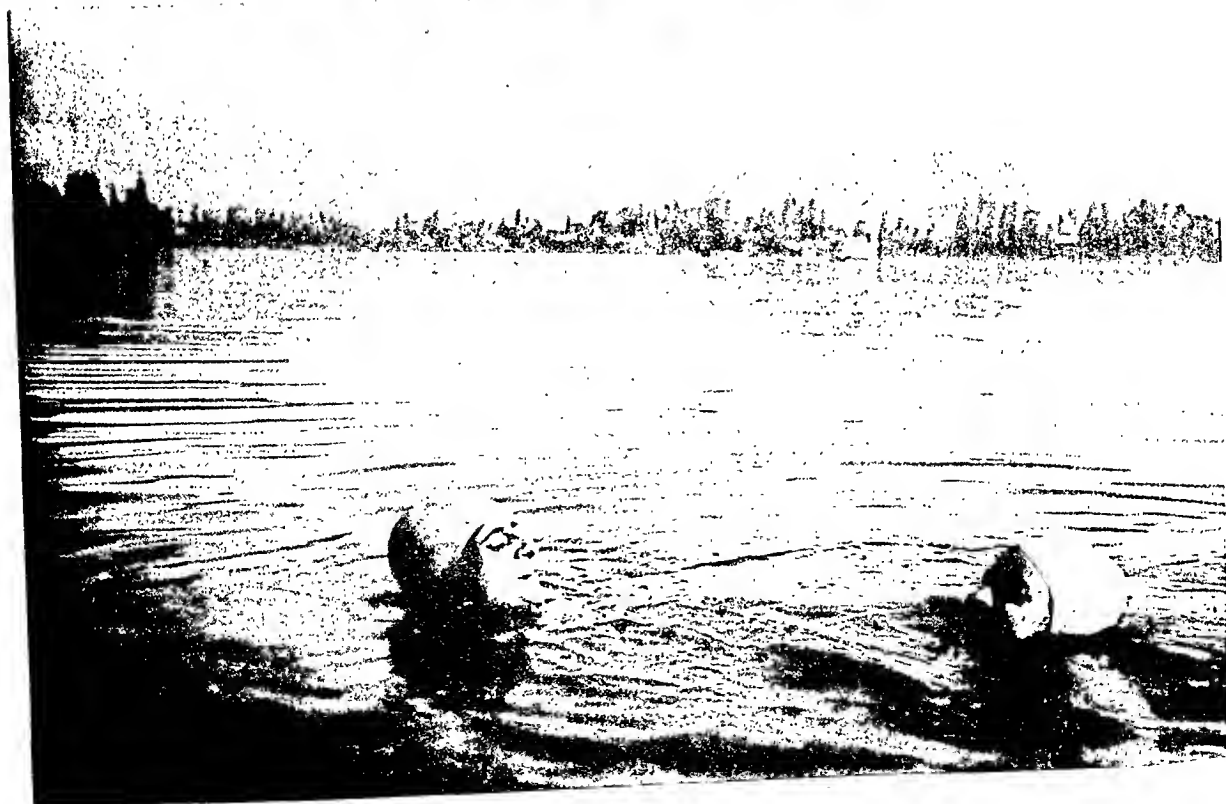
Passed may be posted.

Amf
Jailor

AOJF—A-3692--1232-23—50,000

✓
Superintendent,
Alipore Central Jail

After passing her Matriculation examination in 1934, and before going to the Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, Indira paid her first visit to Kashmir with Vijayalakshmi Pandit and her children. 129. Jawaharlal's letter from prison, dated 30 March 1934, advising Indira to have a holiday in Kashmir. 130. Indira at Pahalgam. 131. Swimming in Dal Lake



132



133



134



135



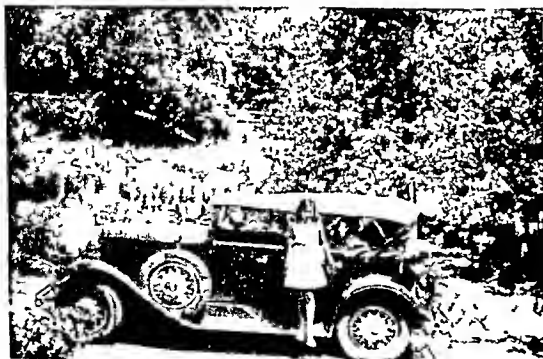
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137



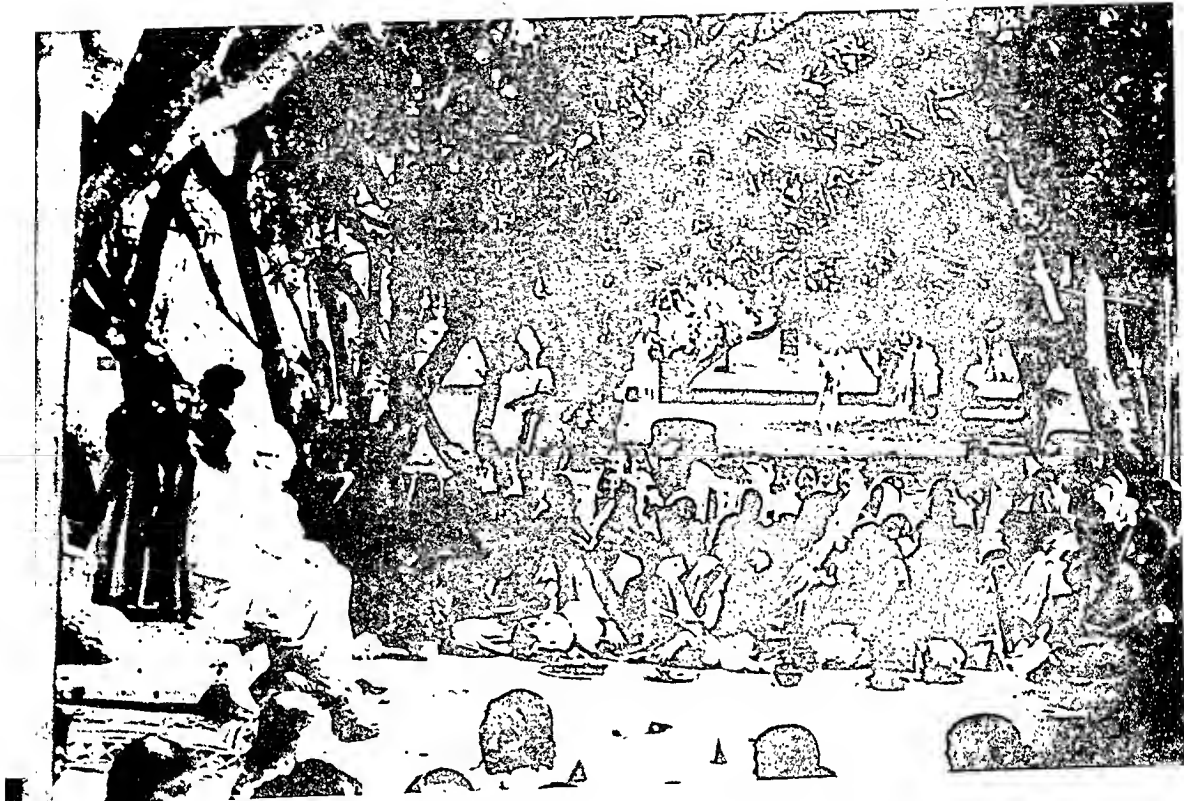
138



139



132-139. Snapshots of the Kashmir visit from the family album, 1934. 135. Indira and her cousins at the Shalimar garden. 136. Indira, Chandralekha and Vijayalakshmi Pandit



141

142



VISVA-BHARATI
SANTINIKETAN
BENGAL.

194.

Provisional Permit.

Dear Sir,

This is to inform you that your ward Smt. Indira Mahan, has provisionally been admitted. The admission will be confirmed on receipt of the health examination report from our Medical Officer here and on the personal interview of the applicant with the undersigned. Your ward is to arrive here by the July 7th 1934. The registration fee, Rs. 2/- has been received.

Yours faithfully,
J. B. Sen.
Principal.
Rector :

N. B. Please bring this card along.

140. With Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore at Santiniketan. Indira is seen in the middle of the front row.
141. Intimation of admission to Visva-Bharati
142. With fellow students





143

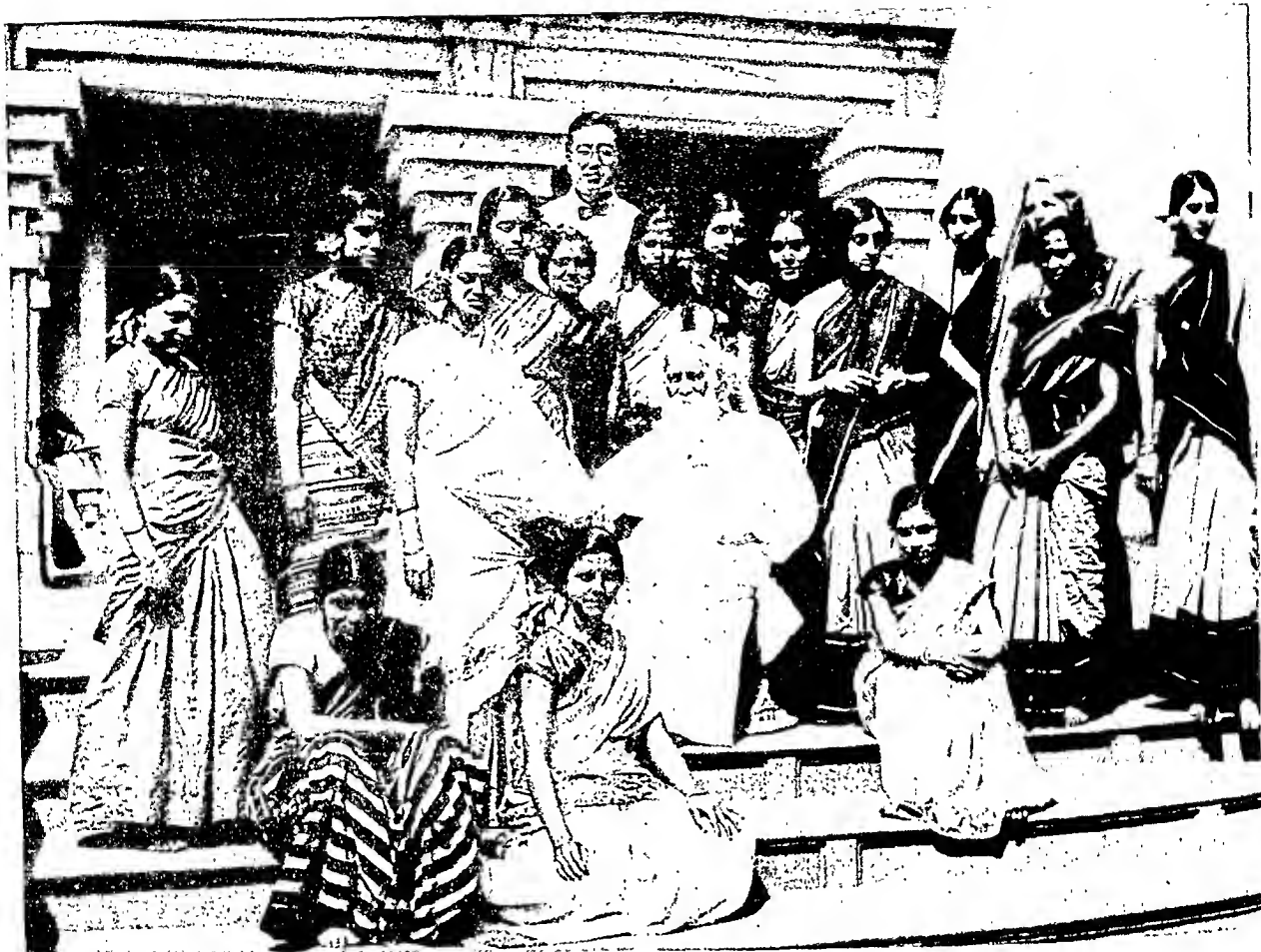
Indira Gandhi shared a room with three or four other girls in the Sree Bhavana hostel. Of her days in Visva-Bharati she said : "I am glad of my stay at Santiniketan, chiefly because of Gurudeva. . . His spirit has greatly influenced my life and thought." 143. Indira with fellow students

144





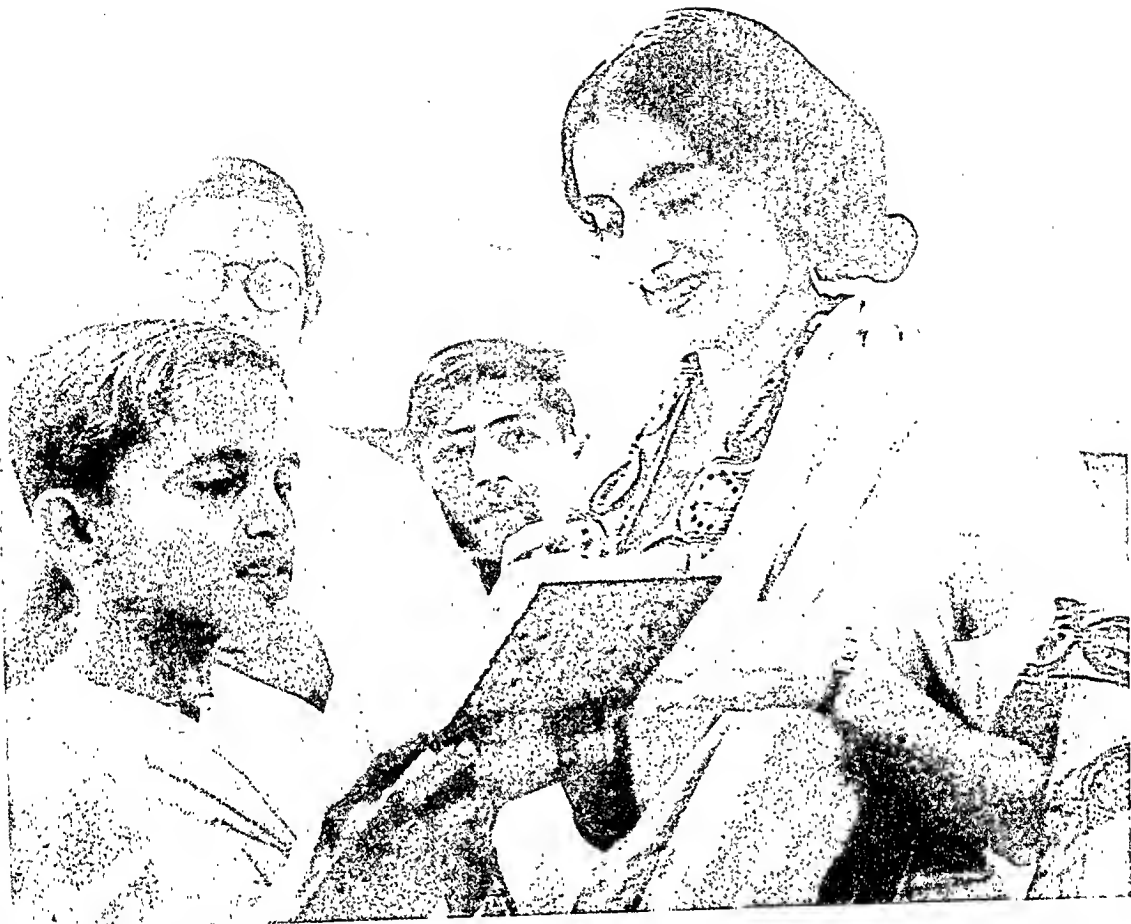
145. Standing under the tree where Rabindranath Tagore's father, Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, had received enlightenment.



146

146. Gurudev Tagore and some students. Indira stands fifth from right. 147. A Santiniketan group. From left: Nandita Tagore (later Nandita Kripalani), Indira, Mrinalini (who later married Vikram Sarabhai) and an unidentified person 148, 149. Revisiting Santiniketan in 1937. Photographs by Shambhu Shaha 150. A farewell message from Gurudev when Indira left Santiniketan





148



149

To Indira Devi With my blessings.

Life's journey is along an uncharted path where hills and hollows overtake us unawares. They do not come according to our desert, but our desert is judged according to our treatment of them.

1st of Vaishakh New Year's Day
April 14, 1935

Rabindranath Tagore
Shantiniketan

150



151.

Indira had to cut short her stay in Visva-Bharati owing to her mother's illness. She left Santiniketan in April 1935 to join her mother at the Bhowali sanatorium near Almora, U.P.

151. Kamala Nehru moving into the sanatorium. At left is Feroze Gandhi
152. Indira in Europe. 153, 154, 155 Kamala Nehru at Bhowali. 156 Indira, while nursing her mother at Bhowali



155

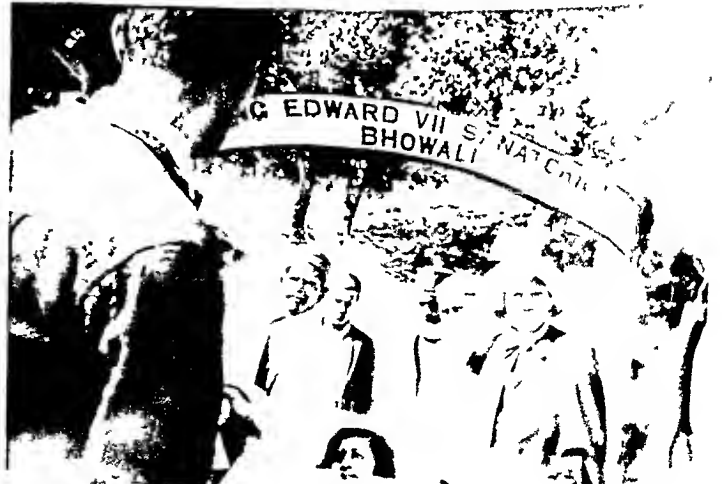


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153







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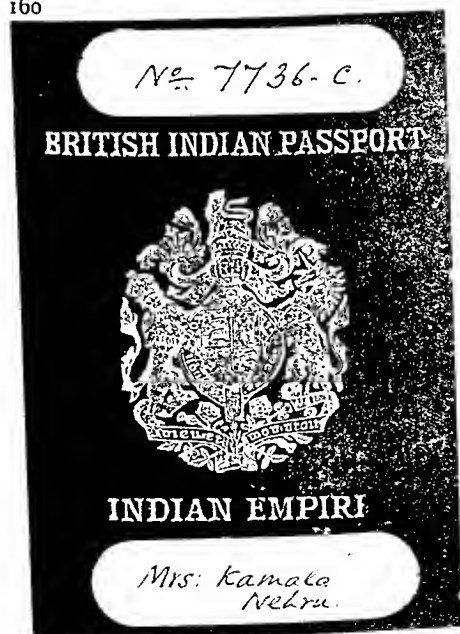


Kamala sailed to Europe from Bombay in May 1935 for treatment of tuberculosis. Indira accompanied her.
 157. Mother and daughter with their family friends, the Talyarkhans, in Bombay
 158. Indira in Europe
 159. Kamala Nehru with Subhas Chandra Bose and others, who met her on arrival at Vienna.
 160, 161, 162. Kamala Nehru's passport and portrait



159

160



161
204

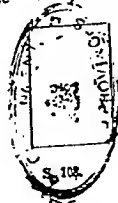
PASSPORT

162

These are to request and require in the Name of the Viceroy and Governor-General of India all those whom it may concern to allow the bearer to pass freely without let or hindrance, and to afford her every assistance and protection of which she may stand in need.

Given at Naini Tal
the 29th day of April 1935.

By order of the
Viceroy and Governor-General of India.



H. J. Rampton
Deputy Secretary to Government,
United Provinces.





163

163. Jawaharlal Nehru at the Karachi airport in March 1936 on his way back home after Kamala Nehru's death at Lausanne, Switzerland.



164. Swarup Rani hoisting the tricolour at a function in Swaraj Bhawan to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Indian National Congress, 28 December 1935. Standing behind her are Purshottamdas Tandon and Vijayalakshmi Pandit.

164

165

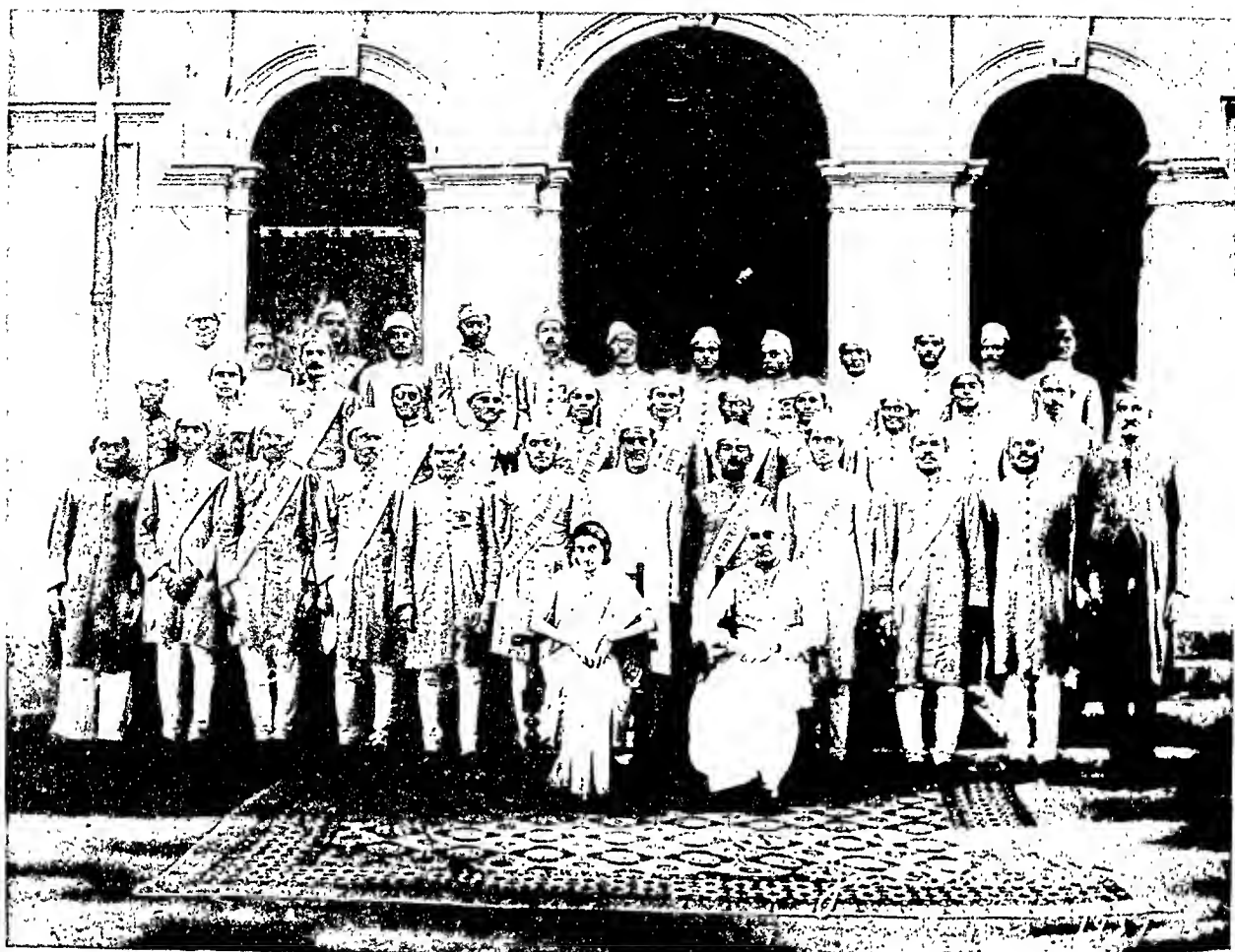


167

165, 166, 167. Jawaharlal Nehru with Indira during a visit to South-East Asian countries in 1937. In 165, Indira Gandhi is signing a copy of her father's autobiography.

166





168



169

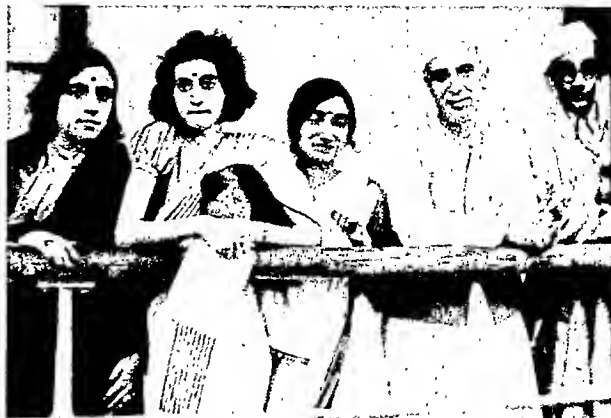


170.

168. With volunteers of the Rangoon Seva Samaj, May 1937
169. With officers of the ship by which they sailed to Singapore.
170. A portrait made during the South-East Asian tour.



171



172A

171, 172, 173, 174. Four studies during the South-East Asian visit. 172A. Being seen off by Jawaharlal Nehru, Krishna Hutheesing and Raja Hutheesing while sailing with Shanta Gandhi for London.

172











178

178. As a student in England. 179. Class of '37 at Somerville College, Oxford. Group photograph made by Gilman and Soame. Indira Nehru is in the fourth row third from left —*Courtesy Somerville College.* 180. Skiing with Shanta Gandhi, at Wengen, Switzerland, New Year 1937. 181. In Zurich in 1936 182. At Lake Lugano, Switzerland

179





180

181



182





183

184



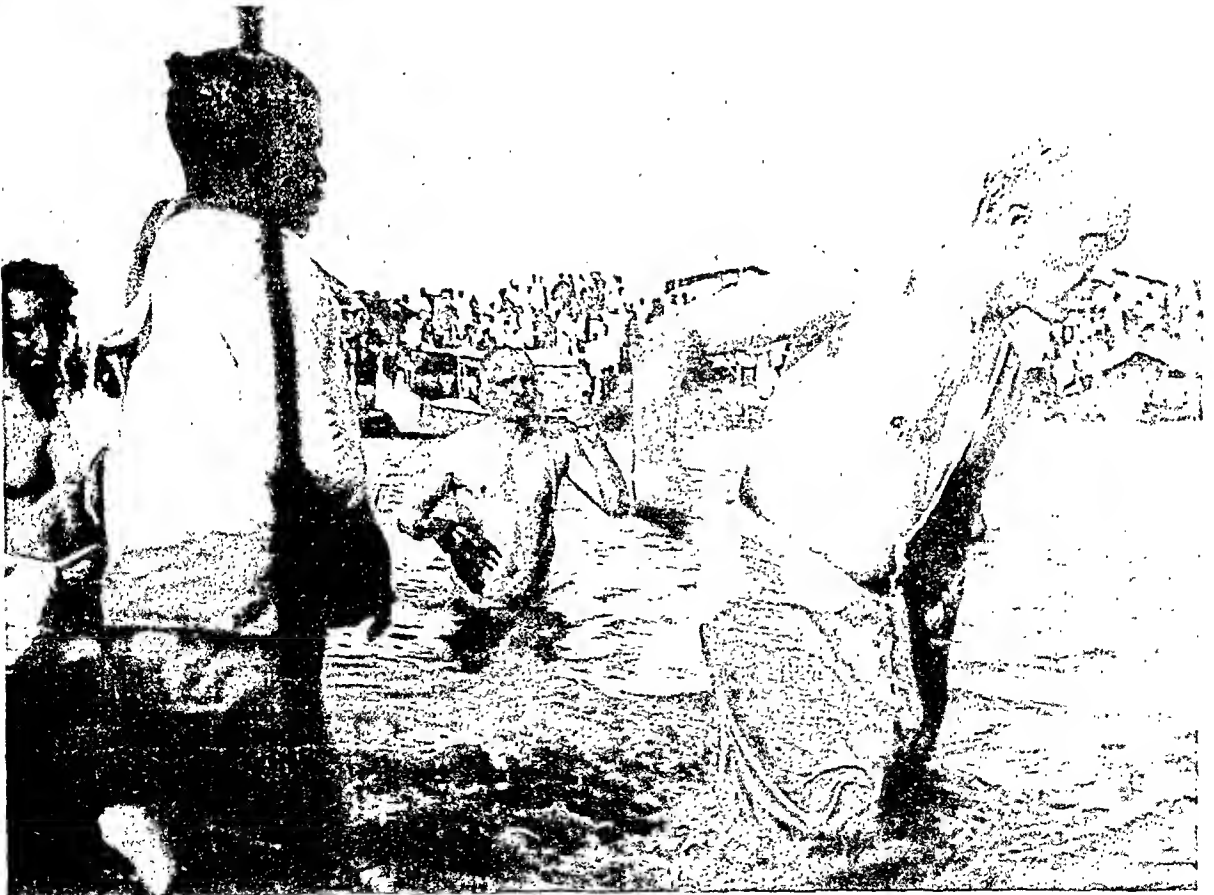
185



185

183. With friends at Easter time in Italy in 1936
 184. With a group of friends in Rome, 1936
 185. Swarup Rani. 186. Jawaharlal Nehru bathing at
 the Sangam, Allahabad, after immersing the ashes of
 his mother in January 1938

186





187

187, 188. In England. 189. During a visit to the home of Sir Stafford Cripps in 1938. At left is Cripps's mother and at right is his secretary.

188



189



190

190. During visit to Prague, Czechoslovakia, in 1938. 191. In London. At right is V. K. Krishna Menon and at left is Miss Batlivala.



191



192

193

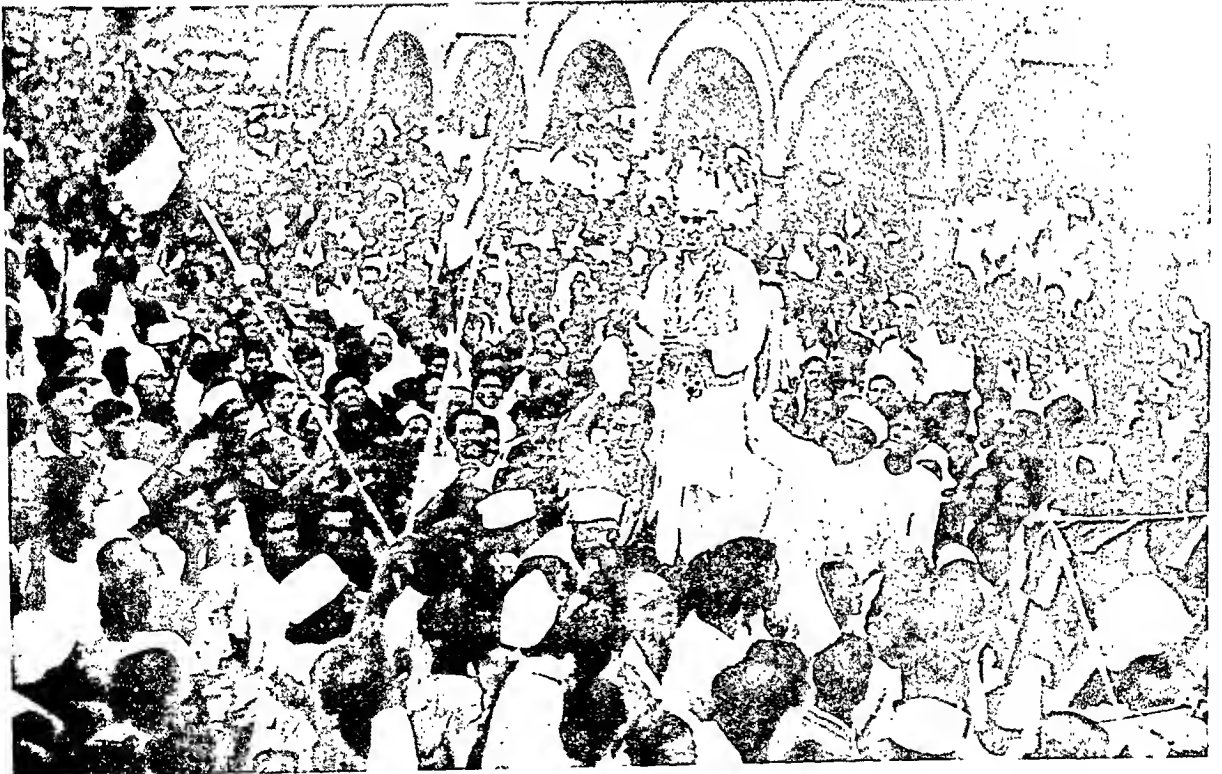


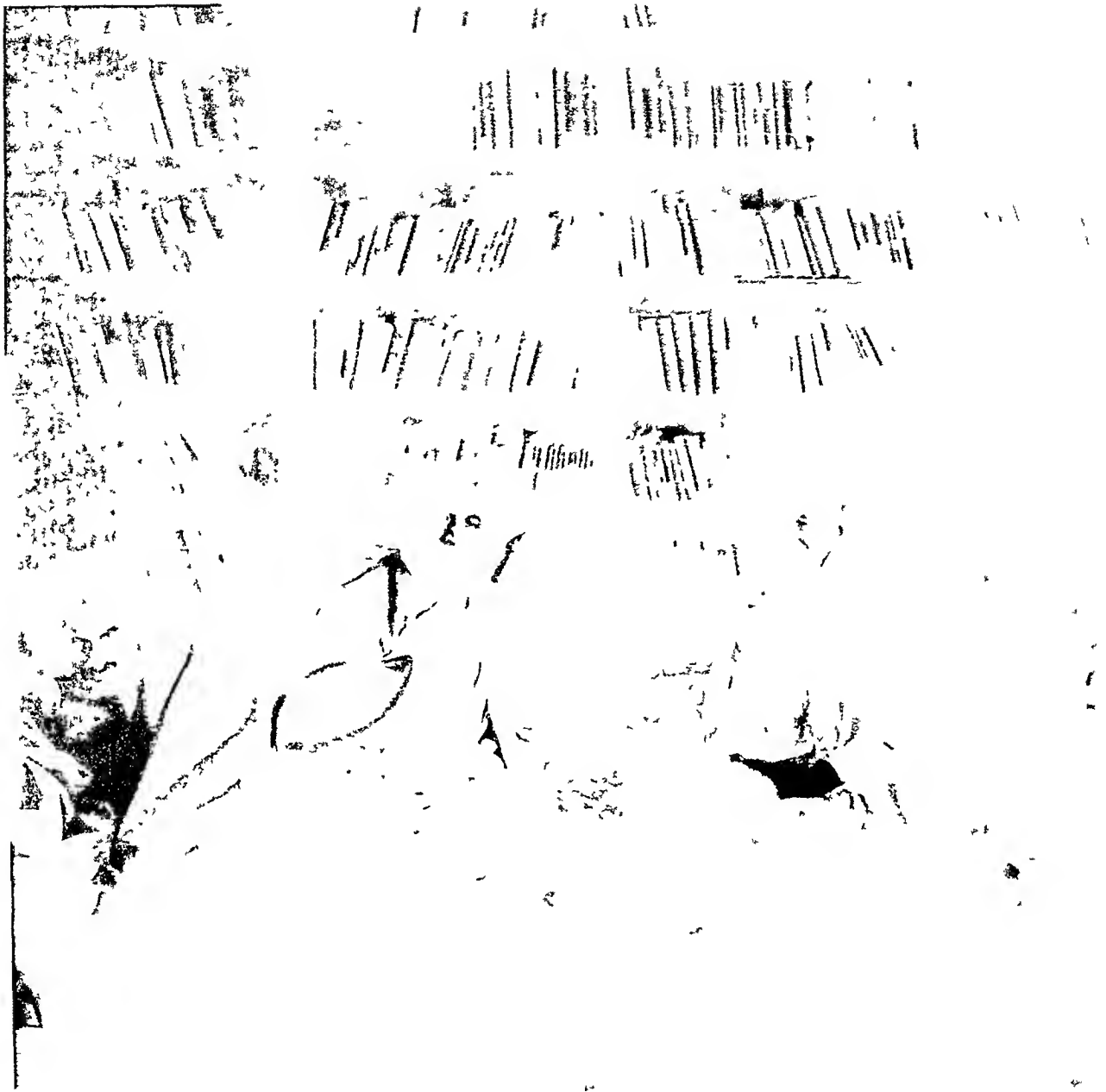
192. At the Pyramids
during a halt in Cairo, 1938
193. With Mustapha
Nahas Pasha, leader of the
Wafd party of Egypt
194. With Subhas Chandra
Bose at Haripura
195. Jawaharlal Nehru in
Madras



194

195





196. A meeting of the Congress Working Committee held in the library of Anand Bhawan. From left : Acharya Kripalani, Sardar Patel, Mahatma Gandhi and Vijayalakshmi Pandit. (The photograph was presumably taken by Jawaharlal Nehru). 197. Mahatma Gandhi at the inauguration of the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital in Allahabad, February 1941

197





198



199



200



201

198, 199, 200. Snapshots of Feroze Gandhi in England. 201. Feroze Gandhi's parents, Jhangir Fardoonji Gandhi and Rattimai



202



203

202. Feroze Gandhi with V. K. Krishna Menon at a rally in London. 203. Feroze Gandhi's family before he was born. From left : Rattimai J. Gandhi, Feroze's mother, with Feroze's brother Darab in her lap, Tehmina Gandhi, Fardoon, Jehangir Fardoonji Gandhi and Alla Batliwala (another sister)



204-209. Photographs of Indira Nehru taken by Feroze Gandhi in London during the war years. 210. Feroze Gandhi in London





208



209



211



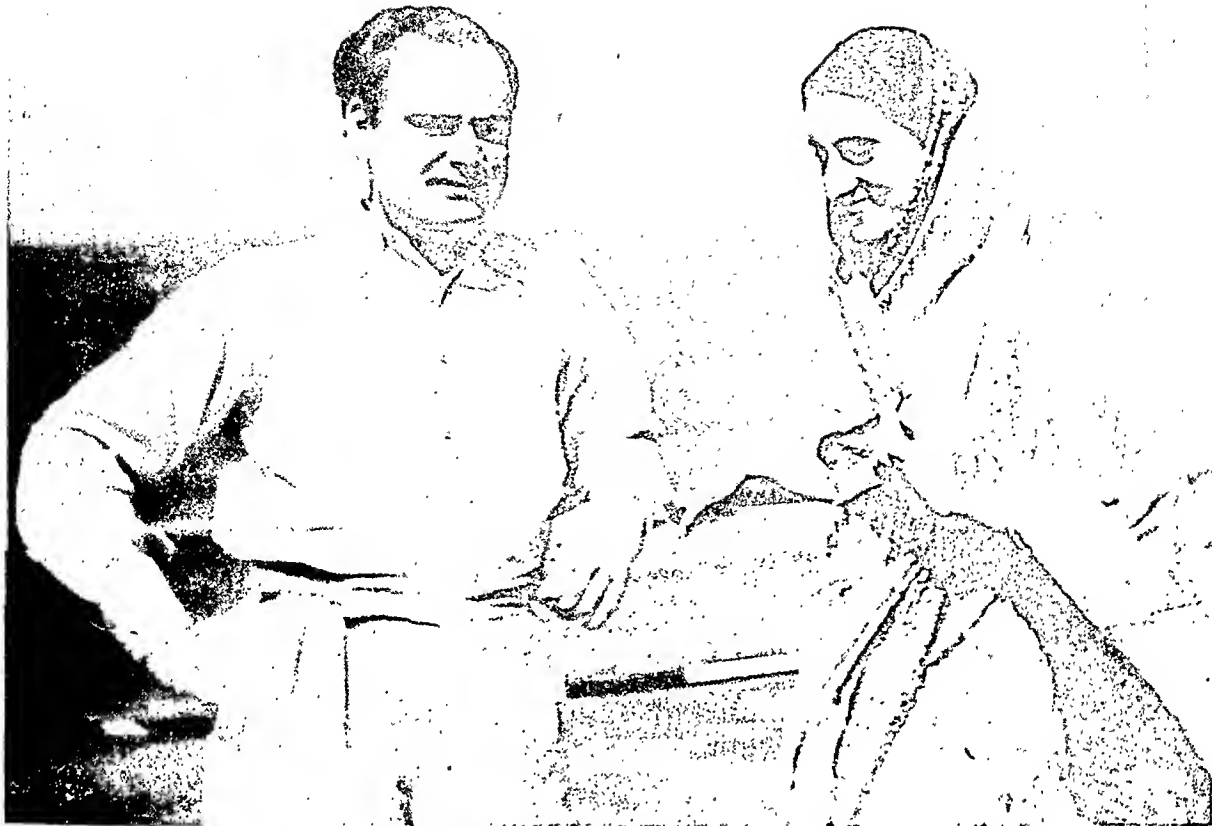
212



213



214



215

211, 212. Studio portraits made in London, 1940. 213. A photograph made for a passport in Lisbon, Portugal. (When War broke out, Indira Nehru was in Switzerland. After an uncertain wait she made her way back to London via Lisbon.) 214. An informal portrait made in Europe during student days. 215. Feroze Gandhi and Indira on their way back to India from England, 1941. 216. At the Harwick Falls, near Durban, South Africa, April 1941, during a brief halt on way home



216

DLT

Koul - - -

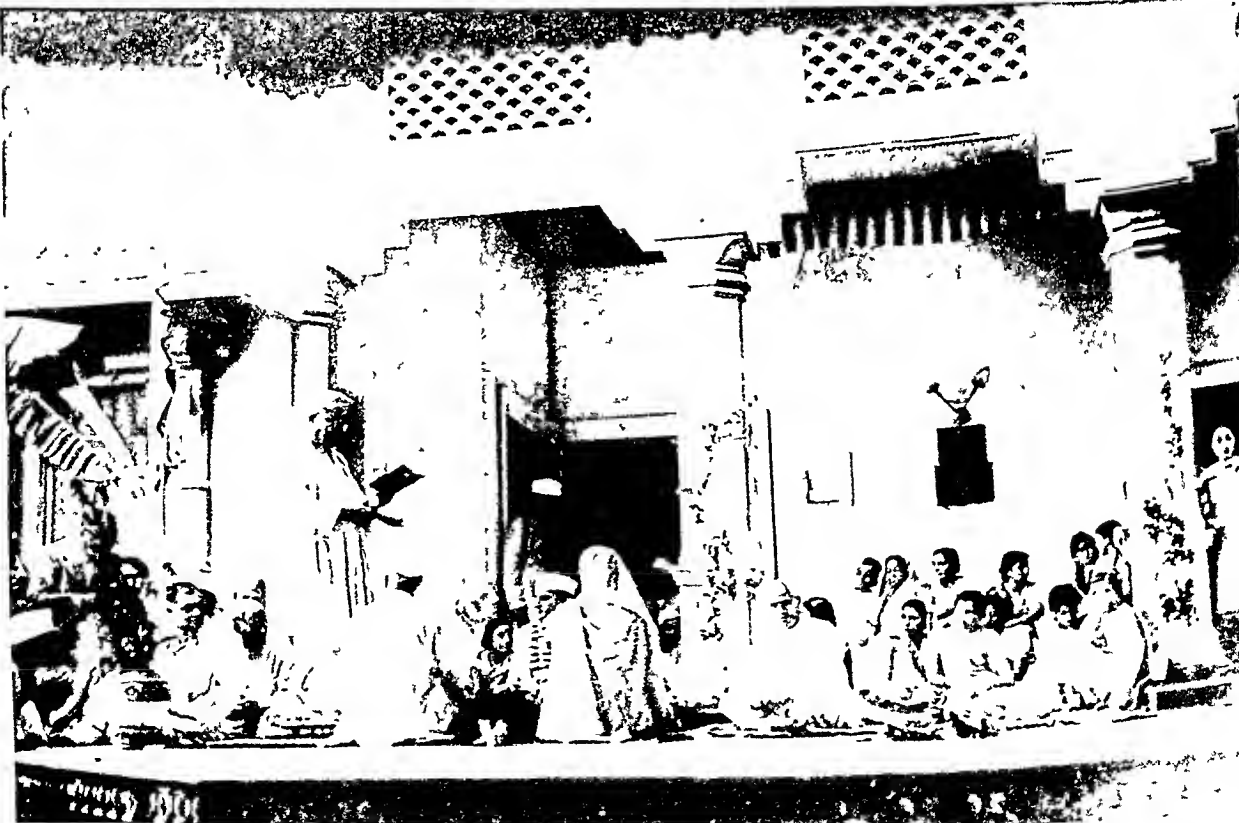
233 Wundmill Road

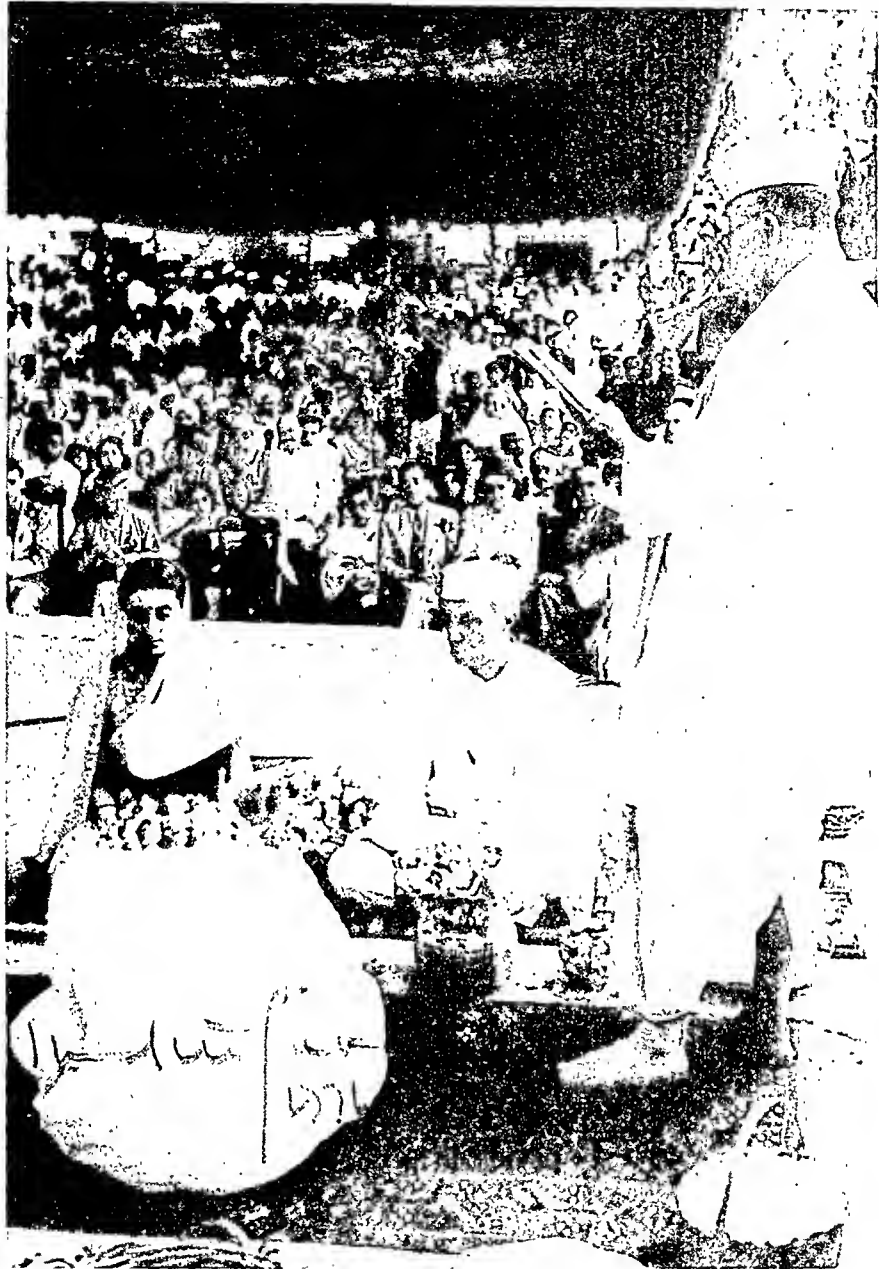
Ealing London

Indus marriage with Jeroze
 taking place Allahabad
 kindly write March with Gandhi's
 Ammes and my blessings
 stop please inform Bhandari
 Agatha Krishna

Jawaharlal Nehru

5/8/42





220 Marriage of Feroze Gandhi and Indira Nehru at Anand Bhawan on 26 March 1942.

217. Record copy in Jawaharlal Nehru's handwriting of a cable sent to his brother-in-law in London informing him of the wedding. 218. Jawaharlal Nehru and the couple in front of the sacred fire. 219, 220. Pandit Lachmidhar Shastri, who officiated as priest at the ceremony, reads Vedic hymns.



221



222

221. Jawaharlal Nehru (left) and Sarojini Naidu (extreme right) with the bride and bridegroom. 222. Lunch after the wedding



223

223. The bride. 224. Indira and Feroze





225



225. During a visit to the Roerichs in Kulu Valley in April-May 1942 soon after Indira Gandhi's wedding. From left: Jawaharlal Nehru, Svetoslav Roerich, Indira Gandhi, Nicholas Roerich, Father Constantine and Mohammed Yunus. At the back, under white umbrella, is Madame Roerich.

226. Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi at a reception in Bombay, 1942

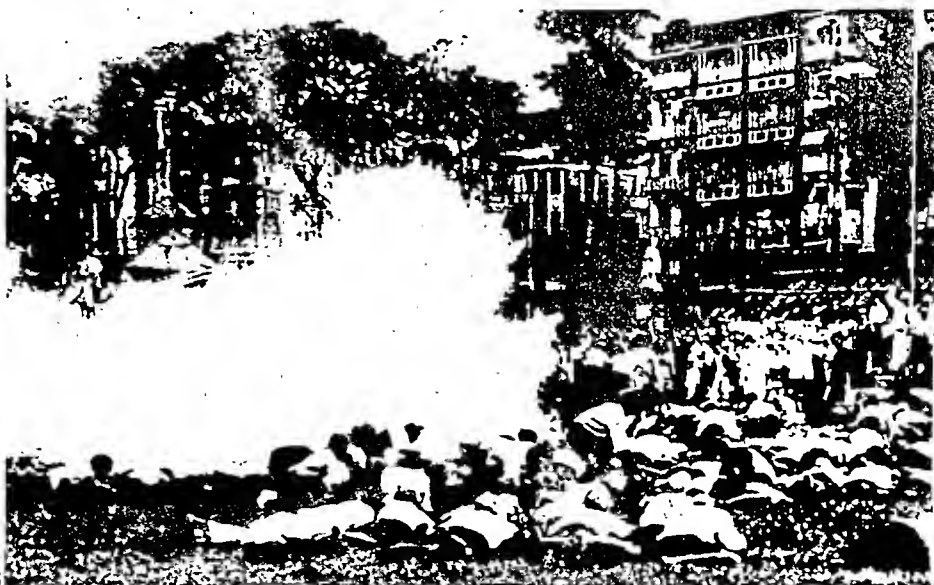
226

Years of Preparation



227

227. Vijayalakshmi Pandit and Indira Gandhi arriving at the Gowalia Tank Maidan, Bombay, to attend the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee where the historic "Quit India" resolution was adopted on 8 August 1942
228. Protesting crowds being tear-gassed in Bombay on 9 August (Feroze Gandhi and Indira returned to Allahabad and plunged into the Quit India movement. They were both arrested in September. Indira Gandhi was released in May 1943. Feroze Gandhi was released in August 1943.)



228



229



230

229-232. With son Rajiv, who was born in August 1944. 233. Rajiv, Feroze Gandhi, Indira Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru at Anand Bhawan after Jawaharlal Nehru's release from detention in June 1945



231



232





234

235



236





237



238



239

234, 235, 236. First birthday of Rajiv
237. With Rajiv. 238. With Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan
239. A hug from the Mahatma. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan is at the back.



240

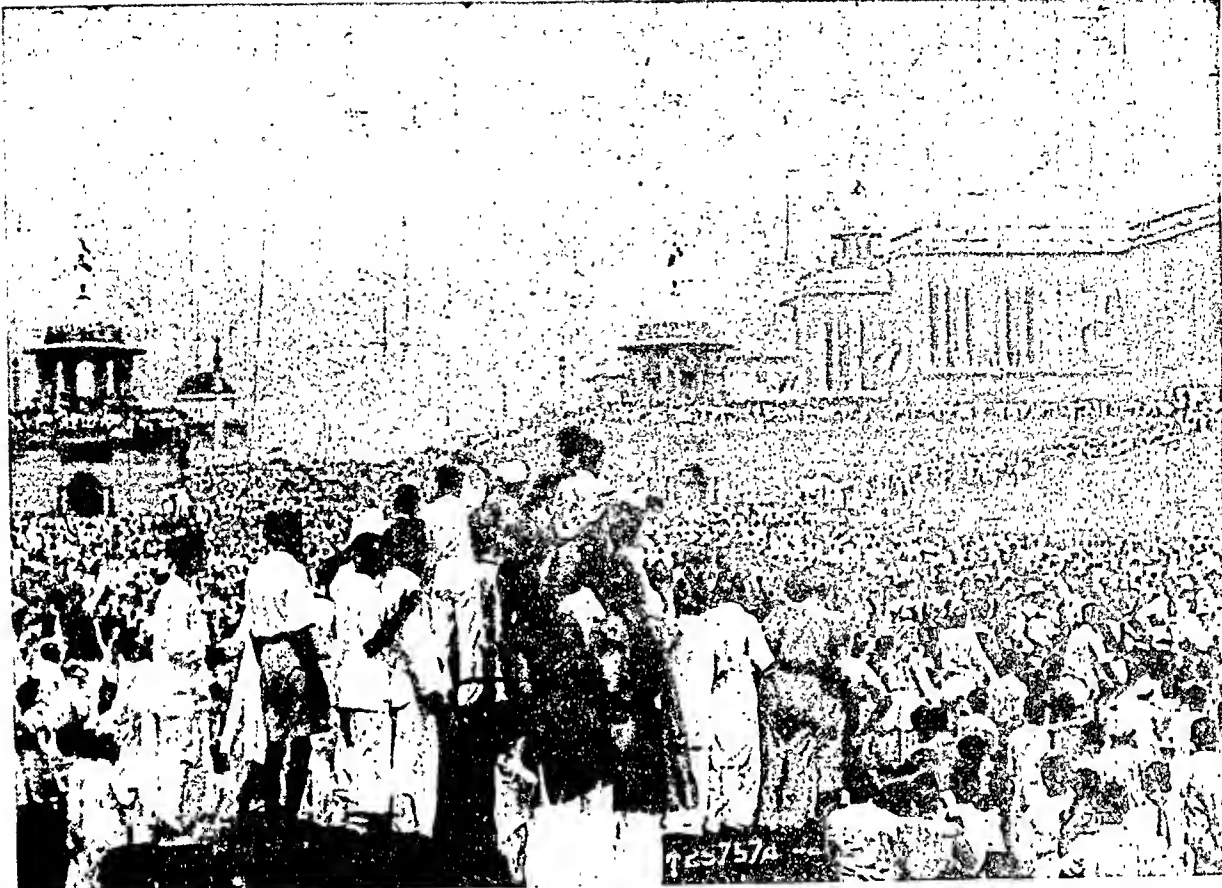


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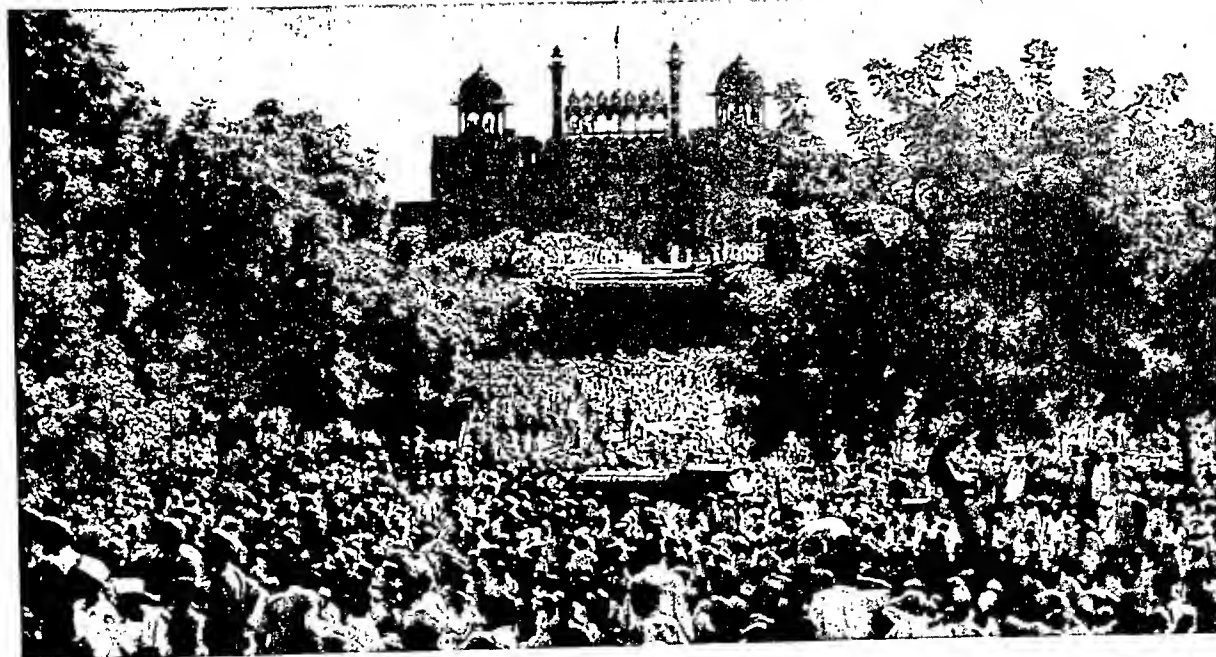
242

240. Jawaharlal Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Patel at a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay in 1946
 241. Mahatma Gandhi in a riot-devastated village in Bihar in 1946
 242. Conference of Congress and Muslim League leaders with the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, on 2 June 1947, at which the plan for partition and transfer of power was finally agreed to. 243. India becomes free. Jubilant scenes at Vijay Chowk, New Delhi, on 15 August 1947. 244. Jawaharlal Nehru hoists the national flag on the Red Fort, 16 August 1947.



243

244





245

246

245. Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel, Devdas Gandhi, Sardar Baldev Singh and units of the Defence Forces accompany the body of Mahatma Gandhi to Rajghat for cremation, 31 January 1948. 246 Jawaharlal Nehru stands at the Sangam Allahabad, all alone after immersion of Gandhiji's ashes 246-A. Indira Gandhi on the train which took the ashes. (by D. G. Tendulkar). 247. A refugee girl tells her tale to Jawaharlal Nehru in the Jullundur Camp, February 1948 At right is Indira Gandhi

246-A





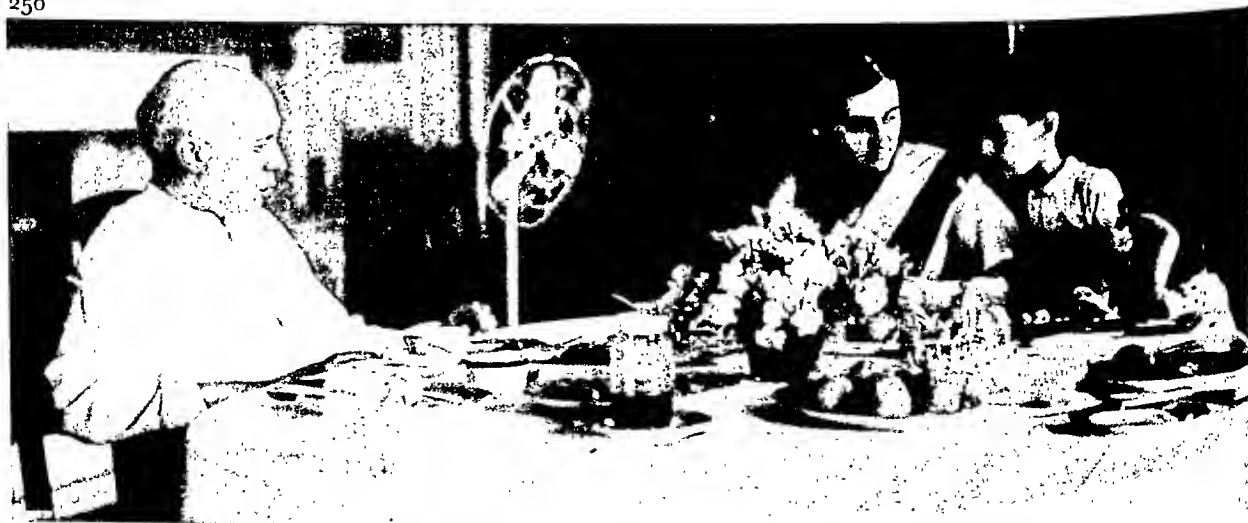


248

249



250





248. Jawaharlal Nehru in Srinagar. Others, from left : Indira Gandhi, Karan Singh, Edwina Mountbatten, Mrs. Karan Singh, Sheikh Abdullah and two Army officers

249. Jawaharlal Nehru playing billiards during visit to Kashmir.

Indira Gandhi and Sanjay look on. 250. Breakfast in Teen Murti House. 251. Portrait

of Indira Gandhi. 252. Feroze Gandhi with Sanjay on his shoulder. 252-A. A portrait inscribed for Padmaja Naidu

252



252-A





253

254



255





256

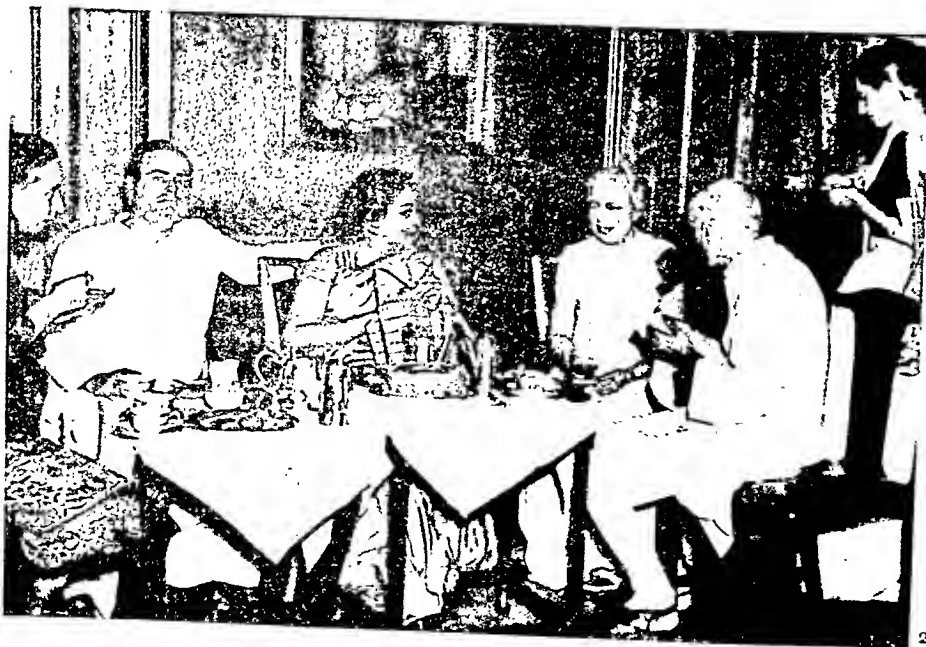
253. On *INS Delhi* on way to Indonesia. 254. Indira Gandhi reading a magazine
255. Feroze with guest on the lawns of Teen Murti House
256. A caress for Rajiv from his grandfather. At back is Sanjay. 257. Indira Gandhi with her sons



257



258



258. Feroze Gandhi with Sanjay. Also seen are : Rita Dar and Chandralekha Mehta, daughters of Vijayalakshmi Pandit. 259. Feroze Gandhi, Padmaja Naidu, Vijayalakshmi Pandit and Jawaharlal Nehru at tea at Teen Murti House. At the right corner is Indira Gandhi. 260-262. Indira Gandhi and children at Teen Murti House (*Nehru Memorial Museum & Library*)

259



260

261



262





263



263-265. Indira
Gandhi in Teen
Murti House (by
Jitendra Arya)

264





266

266. A portrait by P. N. Sharma
267-269. Portraits by W. N. Bhatt,
Poona



267

268



Chandra. 17





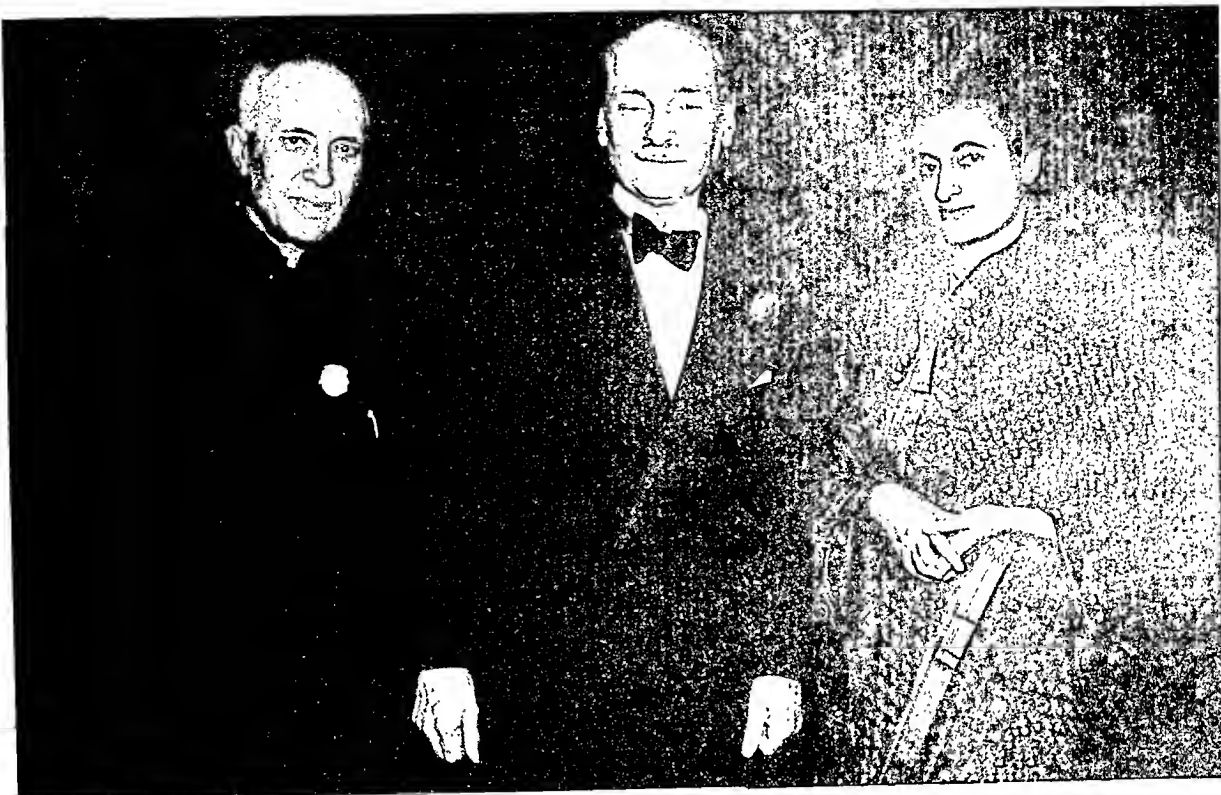
270



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271



273

270. Jawaharlal Nehru, Sanjay, Rajiv and Indira Gandhi on the lawns of Teen Murti House
 271. At Rajghat
 272. Indira Gandhi and sons (*W. N. Bhatt of Poona*). 273. In London with Prime Minister Attlee. 274. In Washington with President Truman, October 1949



274



275

275. With President Soekarno of Indonesia. 276. On a visit to Colombo. At left is Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike. 277. With members of the Palace of Pioneers, Tashkent, Soviet Union. 278. In a children's train at Tbilisi, Georgia 279. Visit to a Soviet health clinic

276





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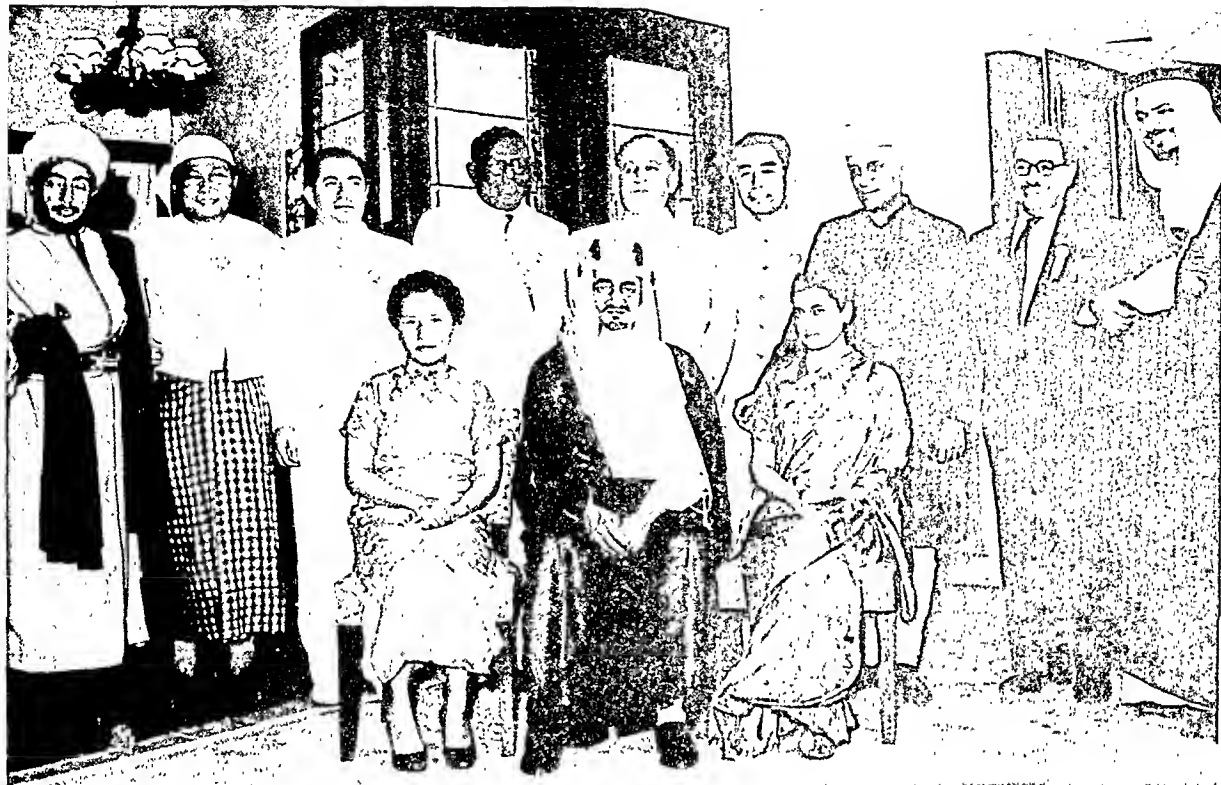


280

280. During Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to China, October 1954. Indira Gandhi is seen next to Chou En-lai. 281. Visit to a Chinese nursery



281



282

282. At the Asian-African Conference at Bandung, April 1955

283

283,284. At the Pyramids, Cairo, 15 July 1955

284





285

285, 286. In Uzbek costume during State visit to the Soviet Union, 1955
286. With Soviet factory workers



286



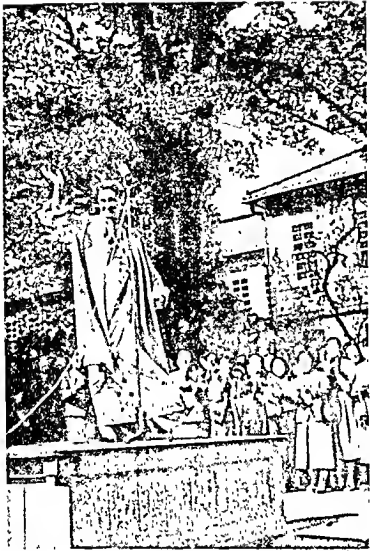
287

288

289



287. With boy scouts and girl guides of the Soviet Union. 288. Travelling by underground train in Moscow's Metro. 289. With Czechoslovak school-children, 1955



290



291



293



292

290-292. In Japan, 1957. 293, 294. Portraits made during the Japan visit





295



296

295-297. More pictures during
the Japan visit



297



298

298. With women leaders of Nigeria, Lagos, 1962
 299. Visit to a women's organization of Nigeria

299





300



300. With President Rajendra Prasad. 301. Offering greetings to Govind Ballabh Pant on his birthday

301



302. At a family wedding. Seated in the middle is Shrimati Rajwati Devi, maternal grandmother of Indira Gandhi. 303. During a visit to the Bhandarkar Institute of Oriental Research, Poona, August 1956
304, 305. With father



302

303



304



305

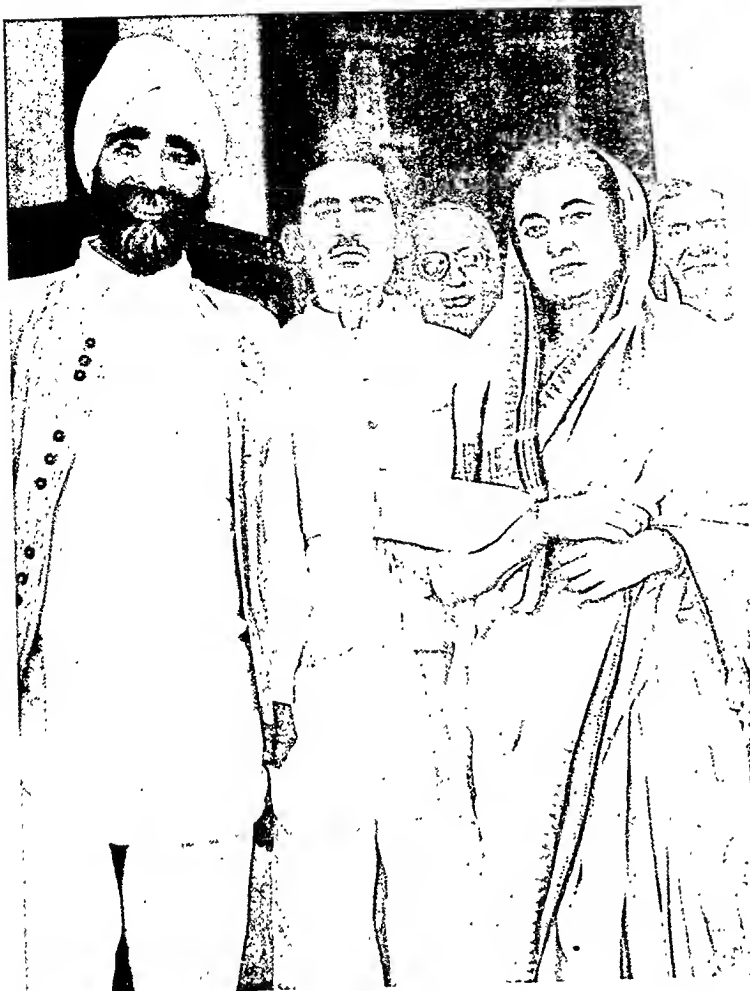


306



307

306. On a rural tour with father. 307. At a cultural function. At right is Dr. Sampooranand. 308. With Congress workers, April 1956 309. A discussion with Sucheta Kripalani and Maniben Patel 310, 311. Portraits during visit to Assam.



308

310



309



311





312

*Social Committee
Seminar*

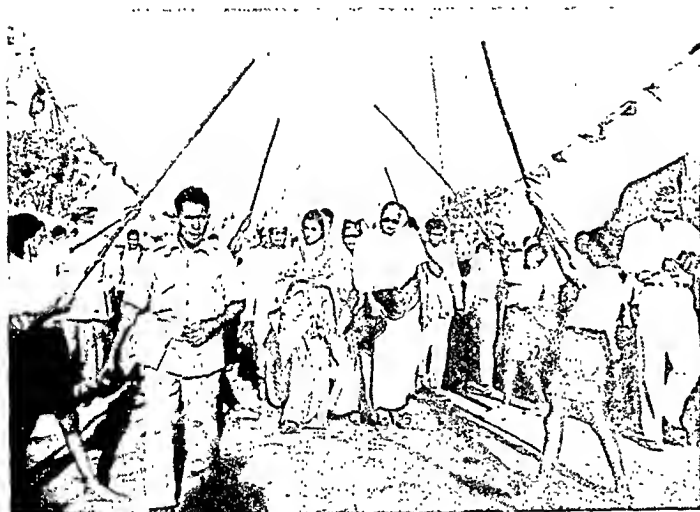


312. At Teen Murti House with members of the Social Committee of the International Film Seminar, 1954 (Punjab Photo Service). 313. At an informal gathering of scholars, artists and diplomats in Delhi

313



314



315



316

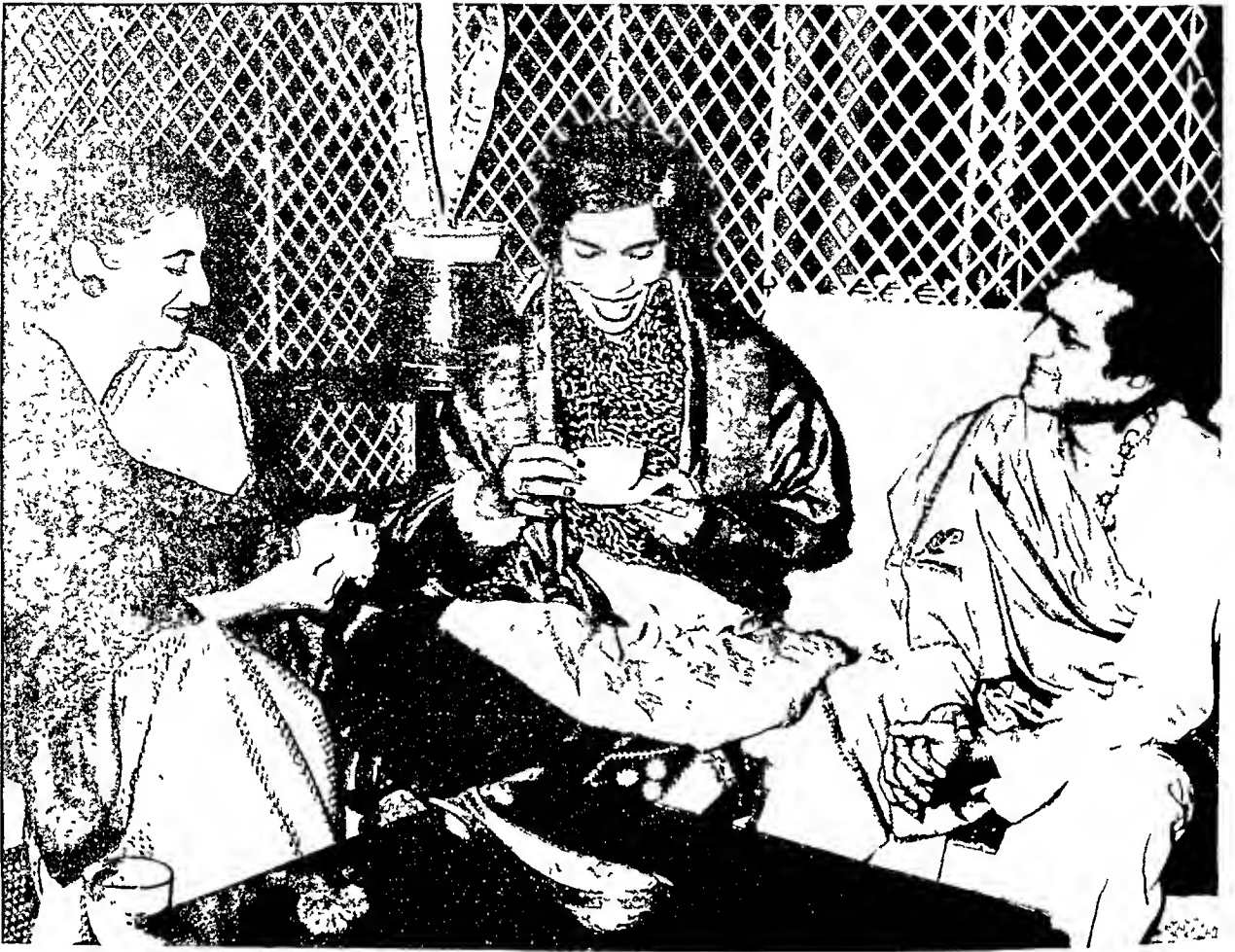
314. During a visit to Kozhikode, Kerala, September 1955. 315, 316, 317. As vice-president of the Central Social Welfare Board, at a work centre near Meerut, April 1956. 318. On a visit to Maharashtra

317



318





319



320



321



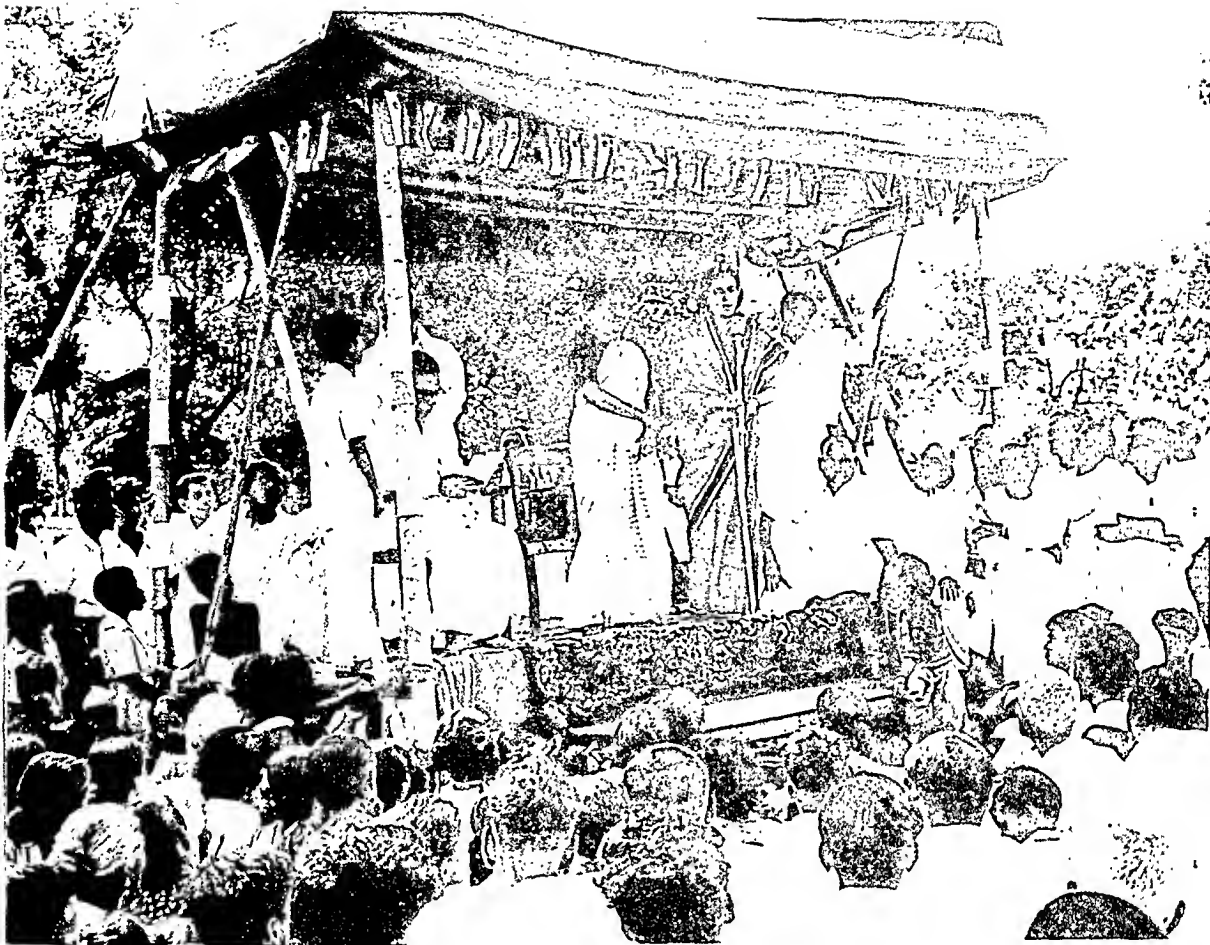
319. With Marion Anderson, the American singer, and Ravi Shankar
320. With Yehudi Menuhin and his wife at Teen Murti House. 321. Father and daughter (by P. N. Sharma)
322. At a Congress meeting (by The Indian Express)



323

324





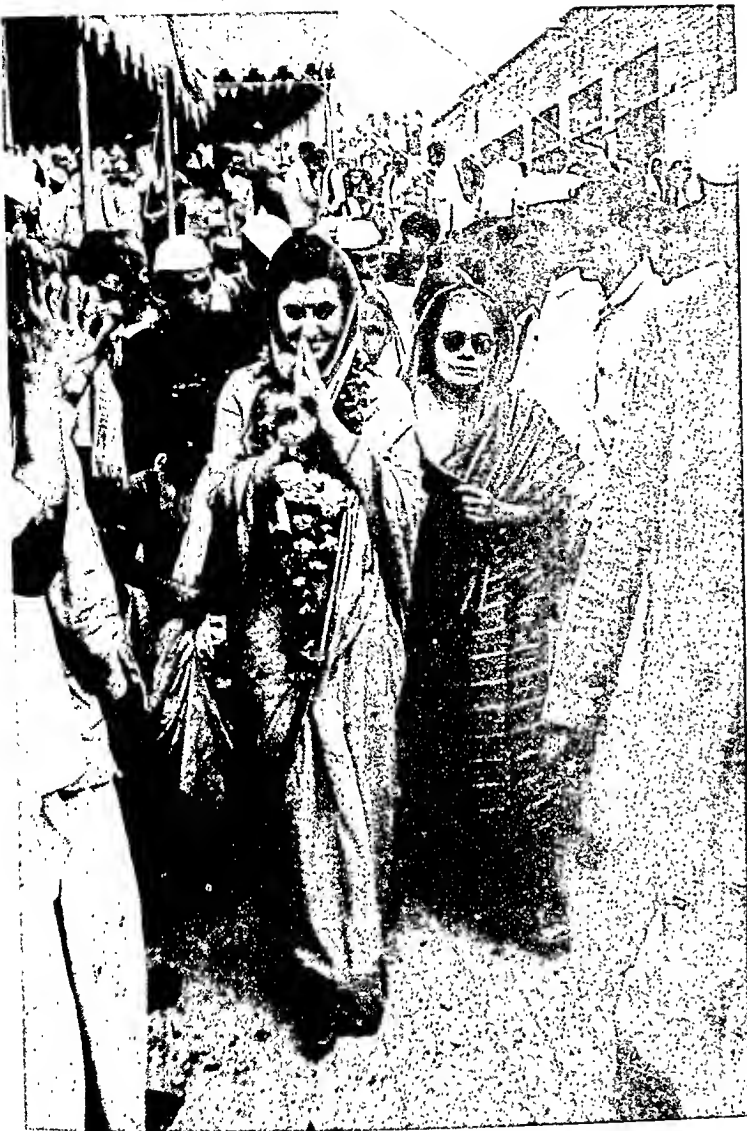
325

323. During the visit to Maharashtra as Congress President. Indira Gandhi became President of the Congress in February 1959 and held the office until December that year.
 324. At a workers' meeting in Bombay city (*by Lenslight*)
 325. Public meeting at Tanjore (*by Velu Studio, Tanjore*). 326. At a party meeting in Kerala



326





328

327. On the lawns of her ancestral home, Anand Bhawan, as Congress President (by T. S. Satyan)
 328, 329. At party rallies as Congress President (by T. S. Satyan). 330. Portrait (by Lotte Meitner-Graf)

330



329



331

331. With the Everest hero Tenzing Norkay and his family. 332. Getting down from the back of an elephant during a visit to Assam



332

333, 334. Receiving the Howland Memorial Prize of Yale University, USA, for Distinguished Achievement, from the President of Yale, Whitney Griswold, 11 November 1960
335. Signing the guest book. 336. Delivering address after receiving the prize



333



335



334



336



338

337. With young people of Kulu Valley
338, 339. On way to Bhutan, 1958



339



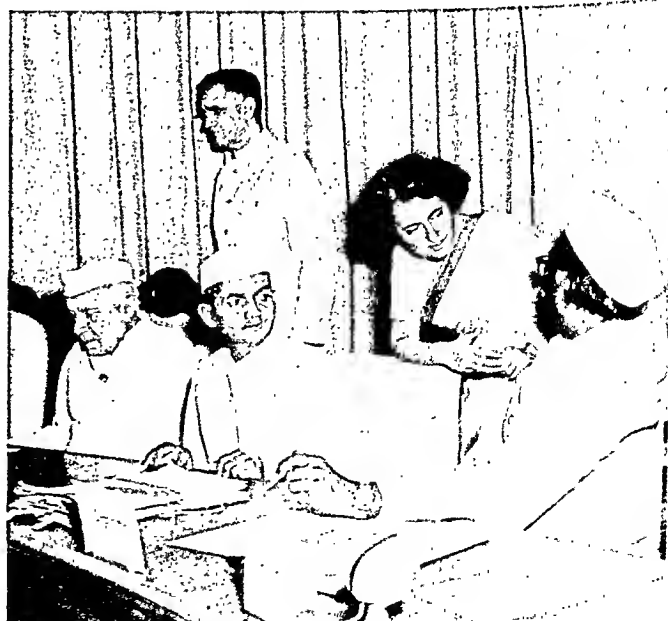
340. Greeting President Radhakrishnan on his birthday, 5 September 1962



341

342

343





344

341. At the Pondicherry Ashram. From left: The Mother, Jawaharlal Nehru, K. Kamaraj, Indira Gandhi and Lal Bahadur Shastri. 342. Lal Bahadur Shastri, Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi at Patna (*by R. S. Ram, Patna*). 343. Jawaharlal Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Indira Gandhi and Sampooranand at a meeting



345

344. In Washington with President Kennedy and Jacqueline Kennedy, 1961

345. With Kennedy on the lawns of the White House

346. Jawaharlal Nehru
escorting Jacqueline
Kennedy at the White
House. 347. Indira
Gandhi with Ambassador
Galbraith. 348. In a
Gujarati swing on the lawns
of Teen Murti House
during Jacqueline Kennedy's
visit to New Delhi in
1962. 349. Jawaharlal
Nehru putting *tilak* on the
forehead of Lee Radziwill
as Indira Gandhi and
Jacqueline Kennedy look on



346

347



348



349



350

350. With Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya during visit to Nairobi, 1963
 351. With Julius Nyerere of Tanzania at Dar-es-Salaam



351



352

352. With Nikita Khrushchev, Madame Khrushchev and Andrei Gromyko at a lunch given by Ambassador T. N. Kaul (left) in Moscow, July 1963. 353. With Madame Khrushchev at the Indian national exhibition in Moscow, July 1963

353





354



356

355



354,355. Speaking at the New York
World's Fair after the ground-breaking
ceremony, April 1964
356. In New York, 1964



357



359

358

360

361





362



363

357-361. With father
362. Jawaharlal Nehru at
the Bhubaneswar session of
the Congress before he
suffered a stroke
363. Father and daughter
at Bhubaneswar.
364. Jawaharlal Nehru at
Dehra Dun on 26 May 1964,
a day before his death in
New Delhi



364

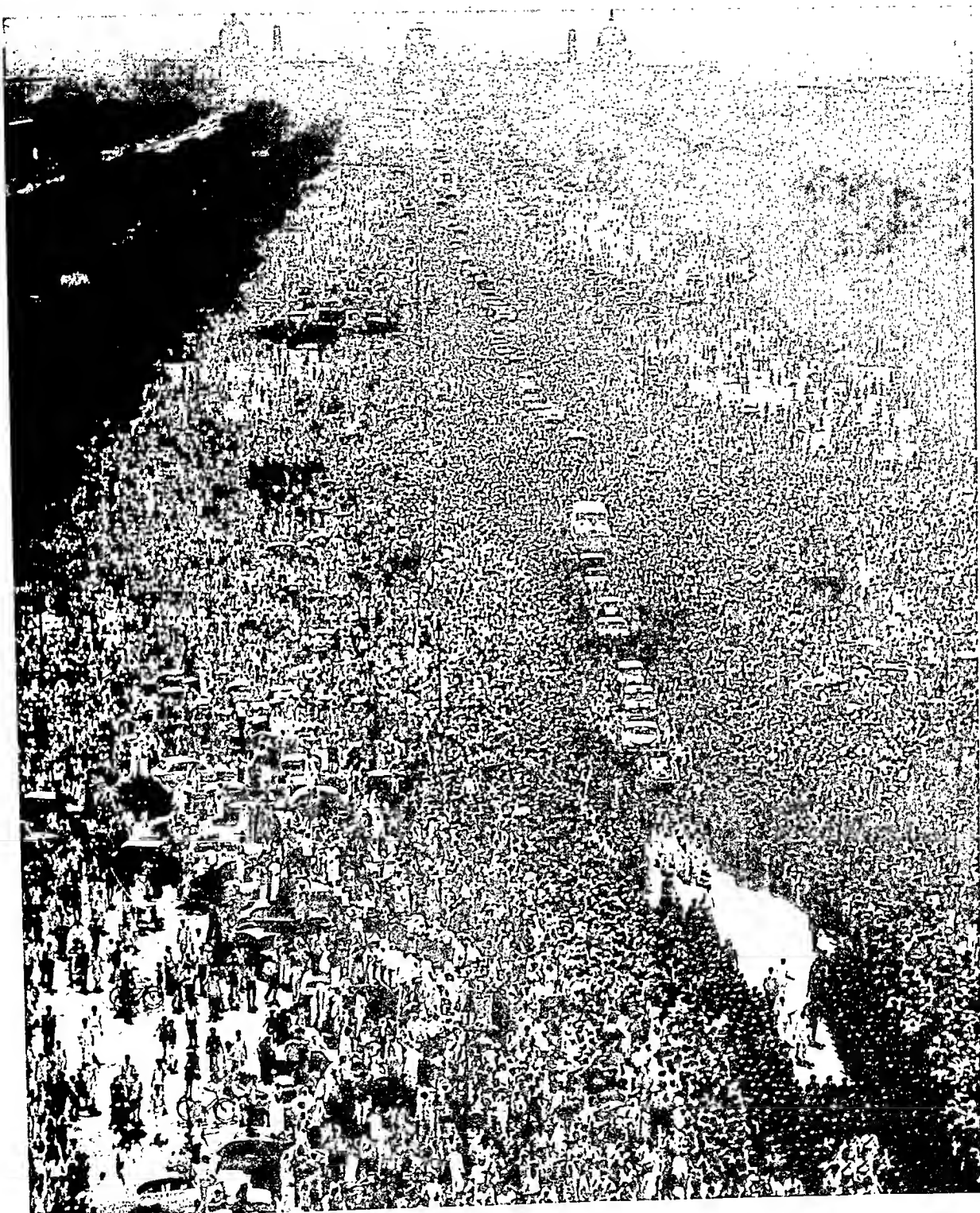


365

365, 366. After father's death (by T. S. Nagarajan)



366





368



369

368. Being sworn in as Minister of Information and Broadcasting in the Union Cabinet by President Radhakrishnan, 2 July 1964. 369, 370. With Lal Bahadur Shastri, the Prime Minister. 371, 372. During a visit to Nefa, 1964



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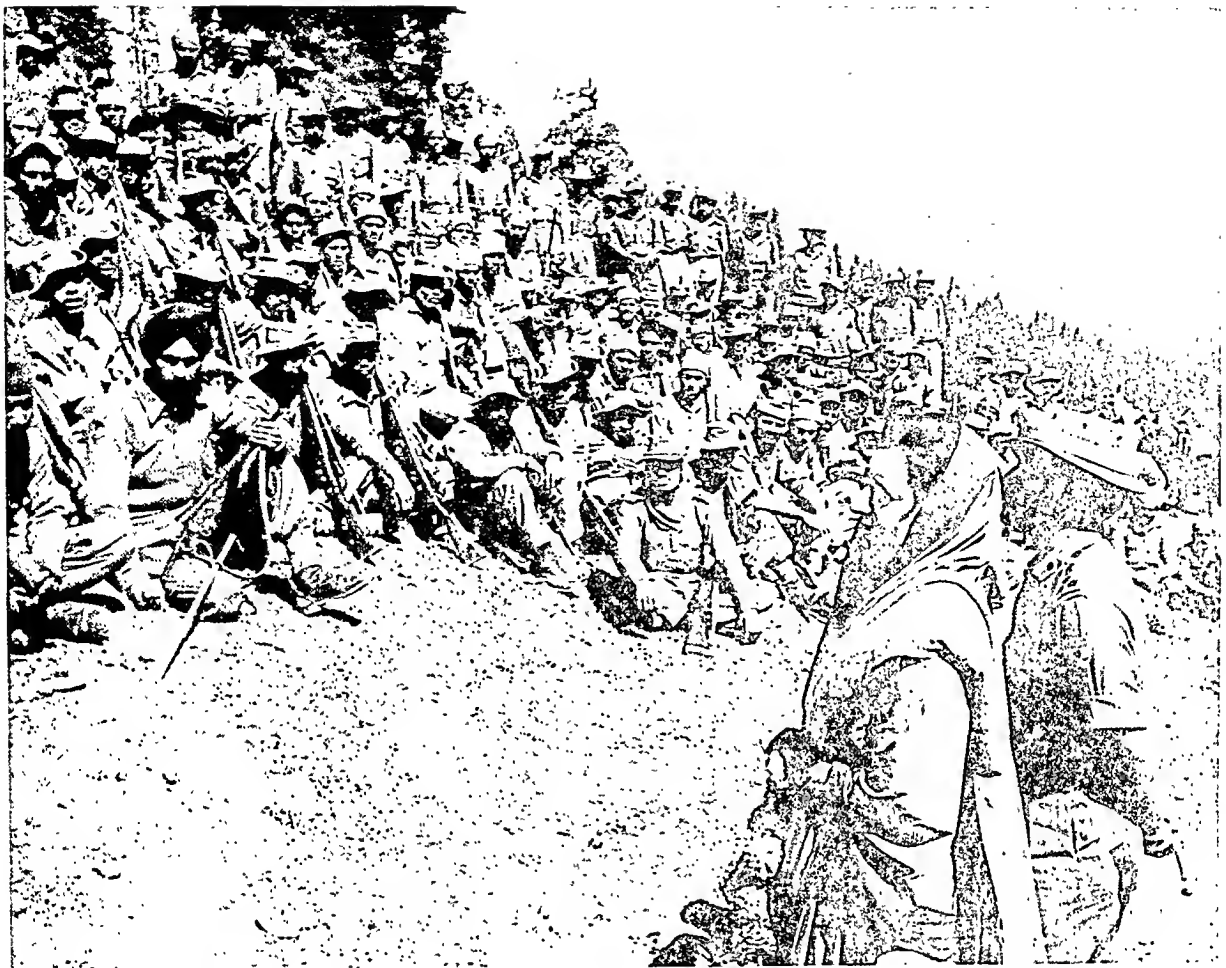
376

373. At the inauguration of the Nehru memorial exhibition in New York, January 1965. Others in the picture are Robert Kennedy, Jacqueline Kennedy, Ambassador B. K. Nehru and Vice-President Hubert Humphrey (*by the New York Times*). 374. On arrival in London for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, July 1964. 375. After receiving a D. Litt. degree from the Andhra University, Waltair, 1965. 376. With President Tito and Madame Broz during visit to Yugoslavia, October 1964. 377. Receiving the Isabella d'Este Prize in Rome, 23 November 1965



377





379



378,379. Visiting forward positions in Kashmir during the Indo-Pakistan conflict, September 1965
380. At the Haji Pir Pass, 28 September 1965

380



381

381. Addressing a public meeting in Rajasthan soon after the end of hostilities, October 1965
 382. Paying homage to the urn containing the ashes of Lal Bahadur Shastri at Allahabad
 383. Calling on Shrimati Lalita Shastri after being elected as leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party, 19 January, 1966. 384. Front page of a newspaper announcing the election



382

383



384

The Times of India

MRS GANDHI TO FORM NEW GOVT

Spectacular Victory Over Morarji Desai In Leadership Contest

Deviation From Basic Policies Ruled Out
MRS GANDHI TO MAKE POLICY STATEMENT

PLEDGES OF SUPPORT TO NEW PRIME MINISTER

DESAI OFFERS CO-OPERATION

High Drama At First-Ever Leadership Contest

As Prime Minister



387



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386

Scenes in the Central Hall of Parliament on 19 January 1966, when Indira Gandhi was elected Leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party.



388

385-386. Before her name was proposed. 387. Acknowledging greetings after K. Kamaraj (right) announced her election. 388. Speaking to the Party after her election. 389. Being felicitated by members of the Party

389





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390,391. Receiving
bouquets and garlands
392. An informal meeting
with the press at her
residence on return from
Parliament House after the
election. 393. Being sworn
in as Prime Minister by
President Radhakrishnan,
24 January 1966
394. Making her first
broadcast to the nation as
Prime Minister



394



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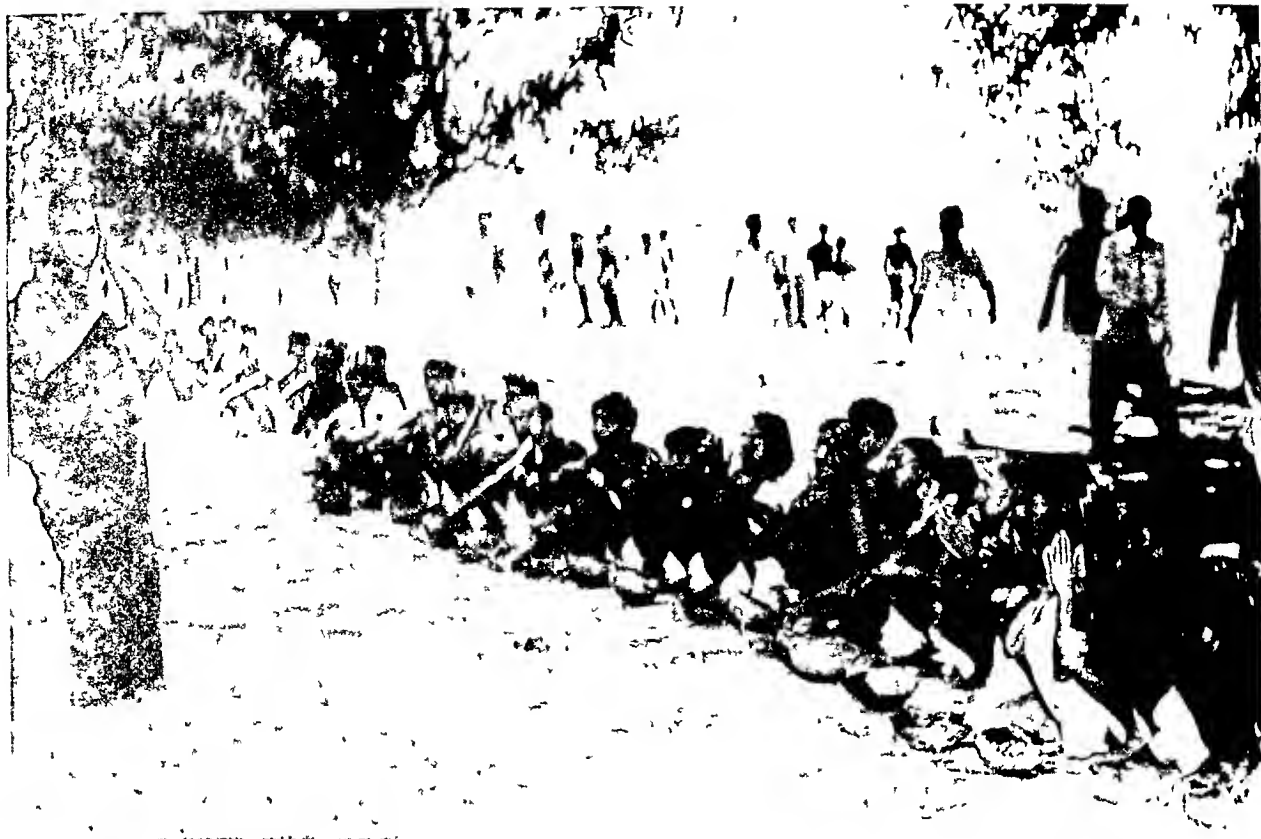
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397

395. At a meeting of
Chief Ministers of
States. 396. Arriving
in Parliament House
397. On a visit to
Rajasthan soon after
assuming office
398. First formal
portrait as Prime
Minister (by
Sunil Janah)





399

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401



1866

Maharashtra
2 lakh trees

Kerala

9 1/2 lakh "

नाच - ने निन.



399, 400. On a visit to drought-affected areas of Orissa. 401. A page from the Prime Minister's scribbling pad 402. Inspecting scarcity areas in Maharashtra. 403-405. Flying over flood-hit areas of Assam

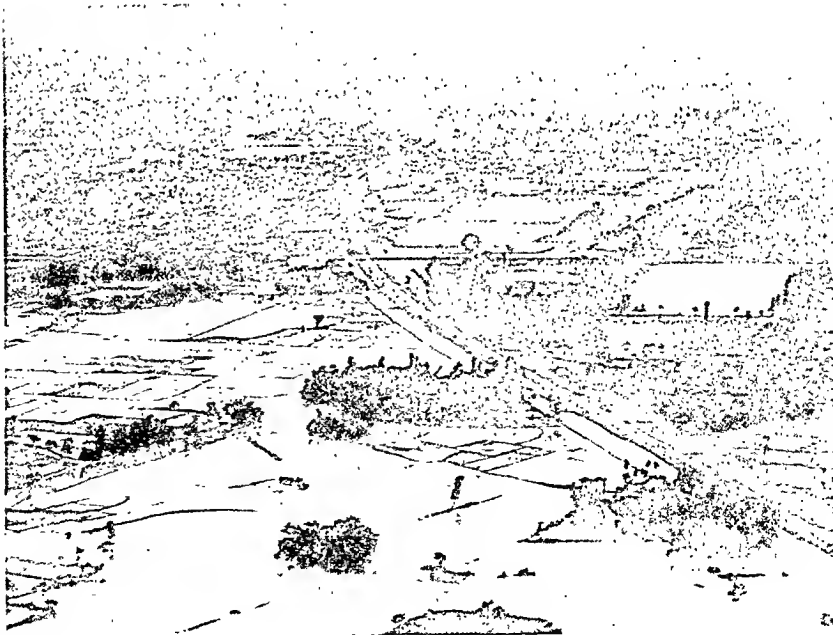


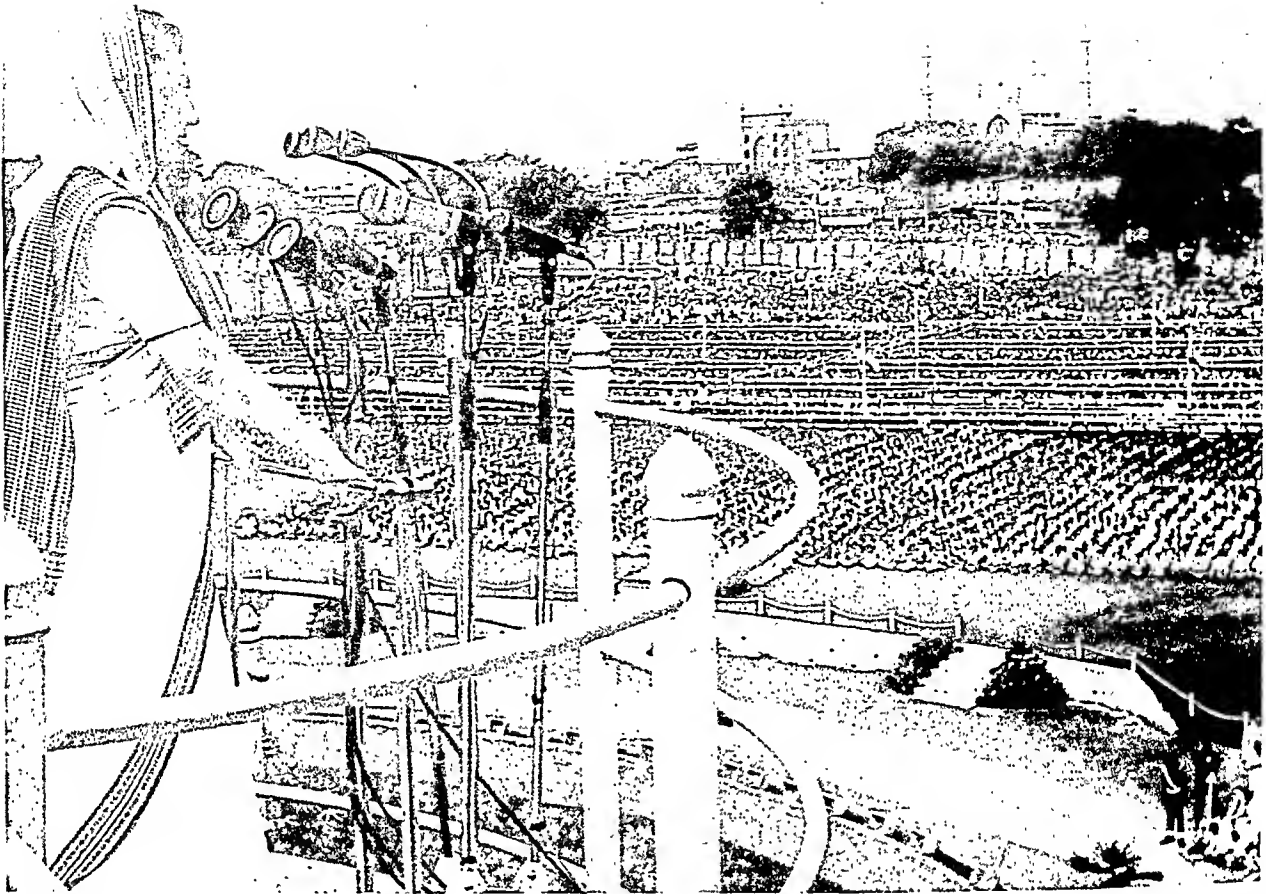
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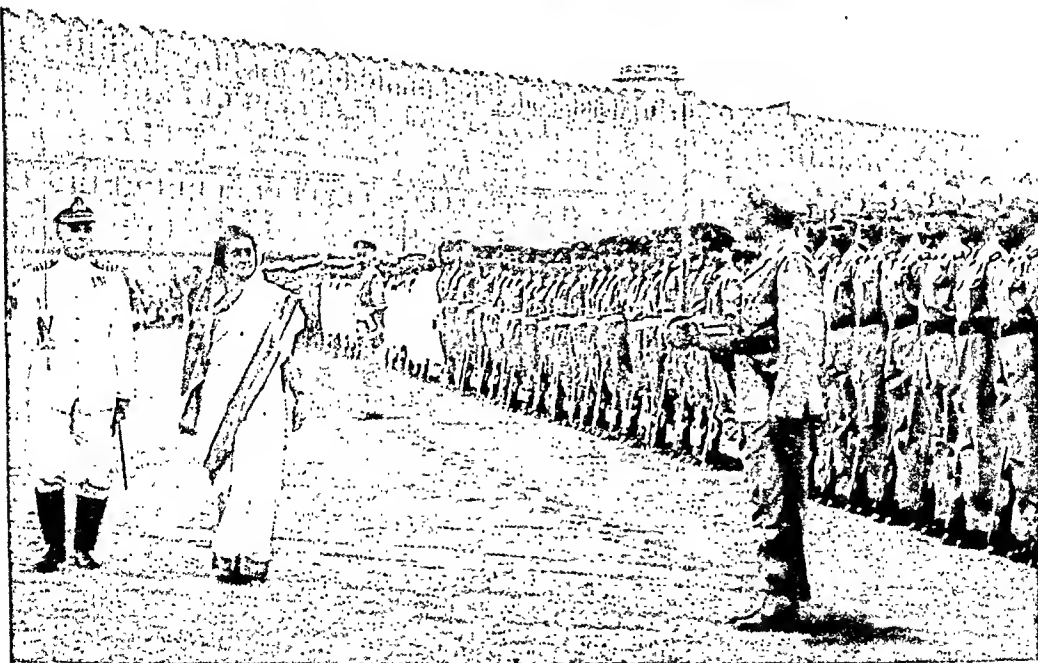
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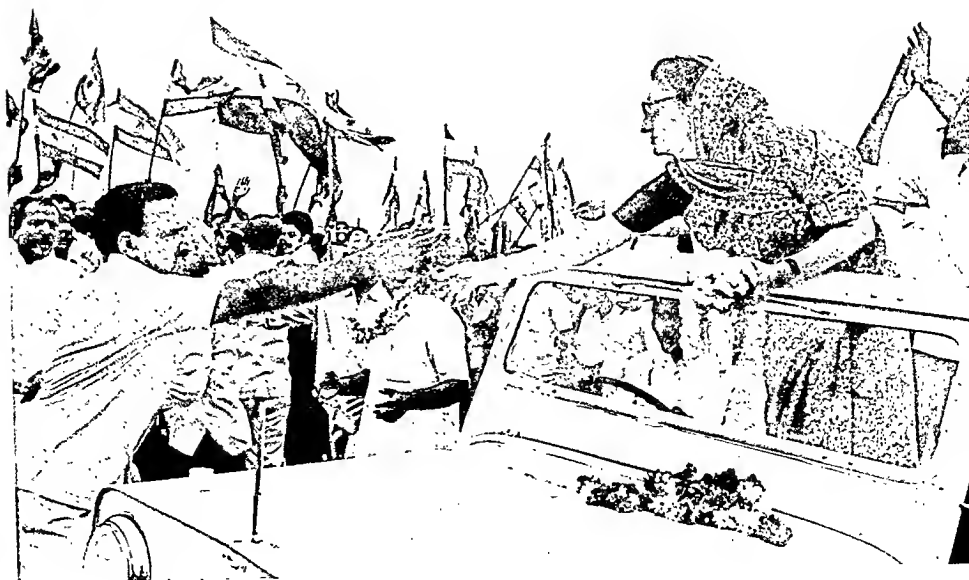
406. Speaking to the nation from the ramparts of the Red Fort, 15 August 1966
407. Inspecting guard of honour at the Red Fort



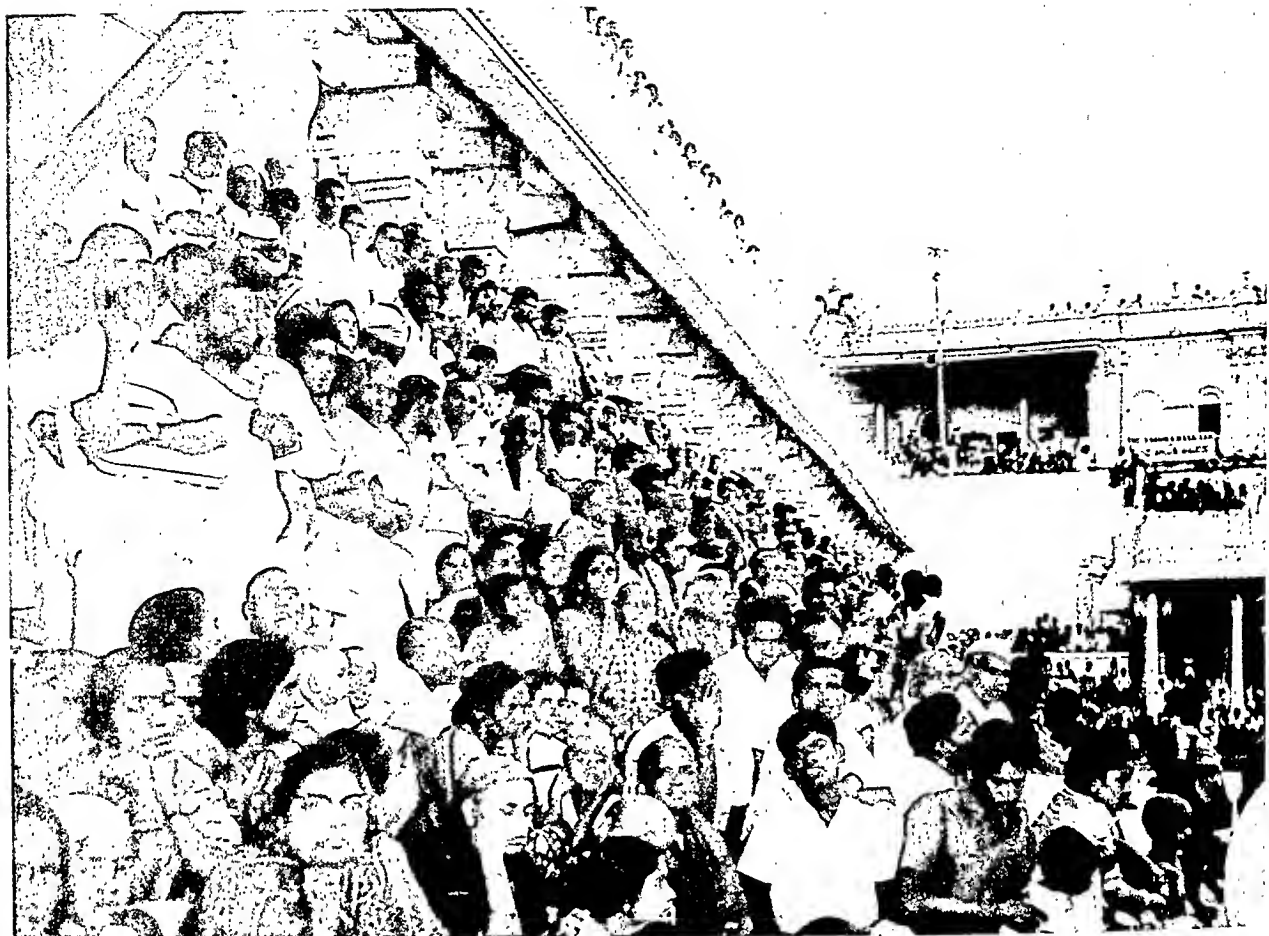
407



408. On a visit
to Lucknow



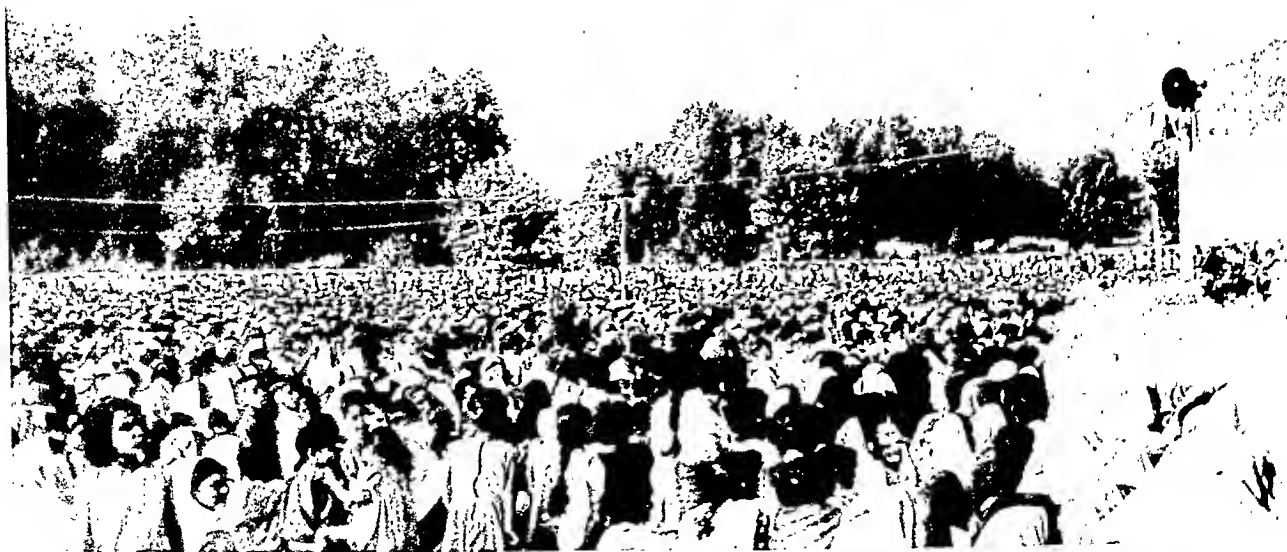
409. On an
election tour
(by Raghu Rai)



410

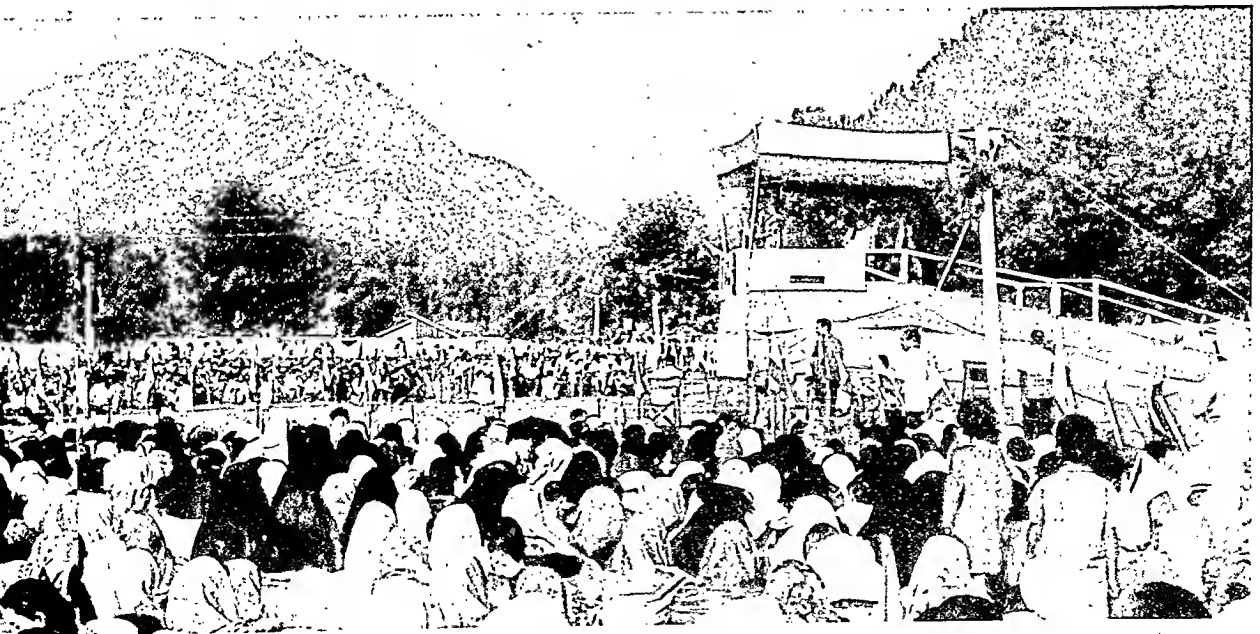
410. Crowds at Tirupati waiting to see the Prime Minister. 411. Addressing a public meeting in Srinagar

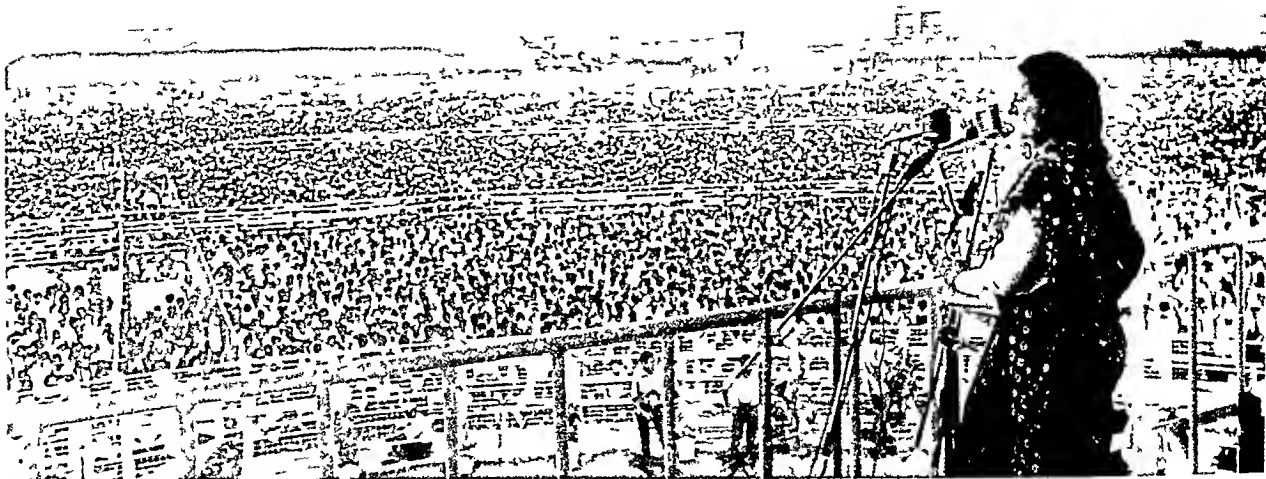
411





412. Speaking at a meeting in Uttar Pradesh





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413. Speaking at Durgapur. 414,415. On a visit to Bihar.
416. Driving through streets of Calcutta. 417,418. On a
visit to riot-torn areas in Ahmedabad. 419. Listening to
complaints after riots in Bhiwandi in Maharashtra.



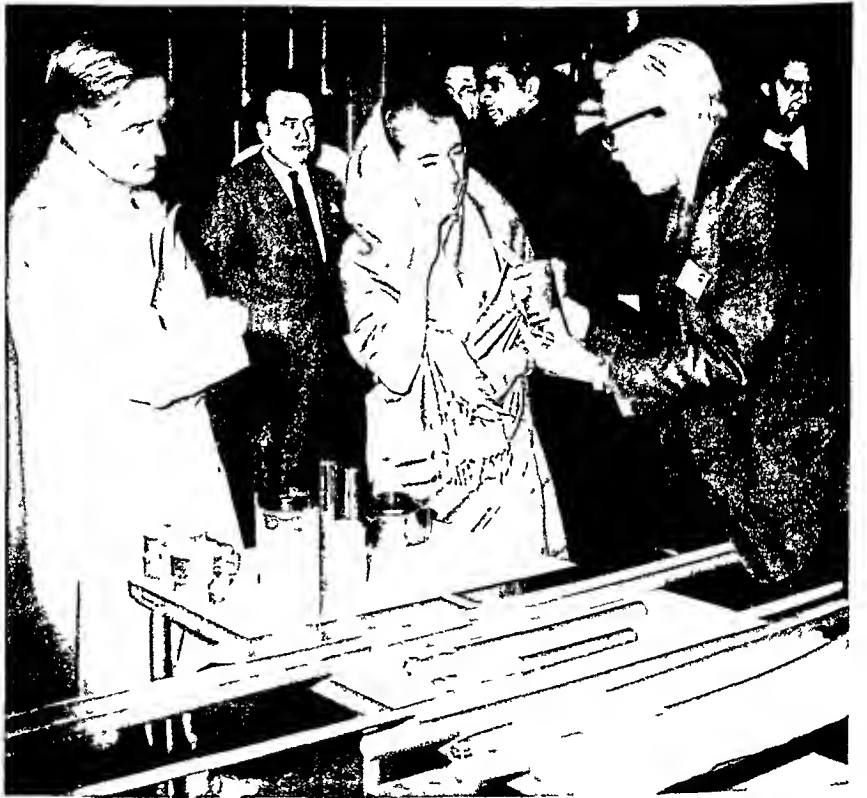
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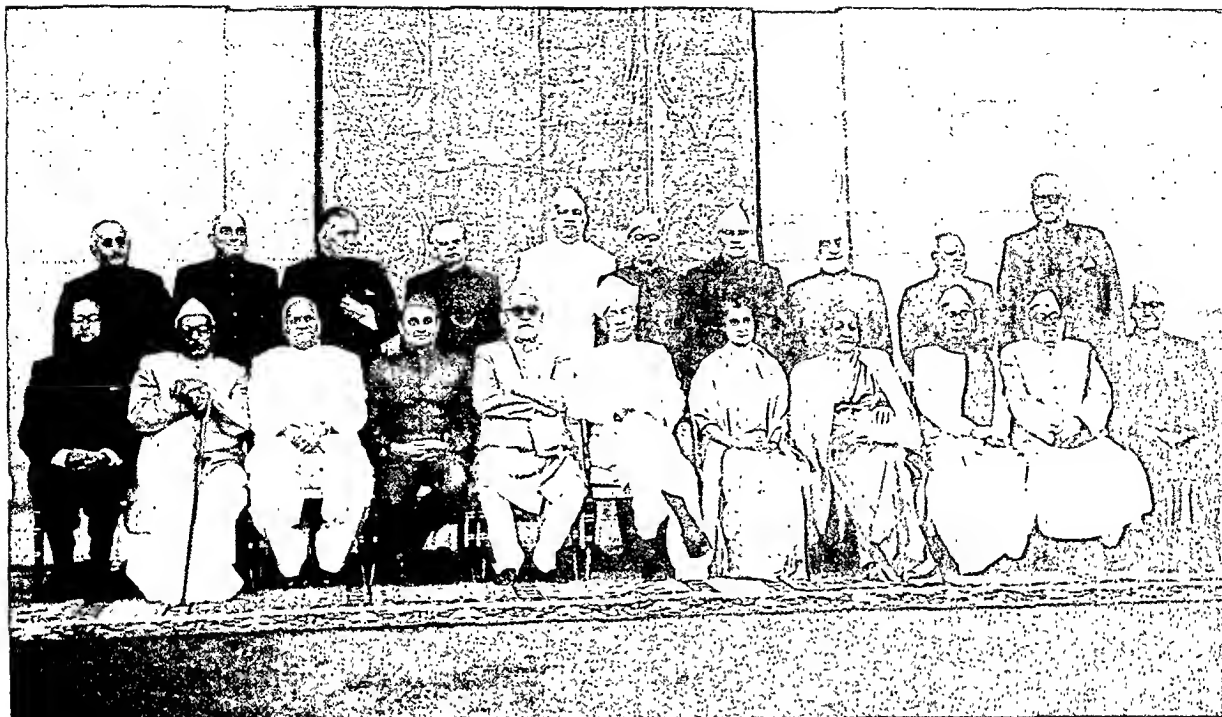


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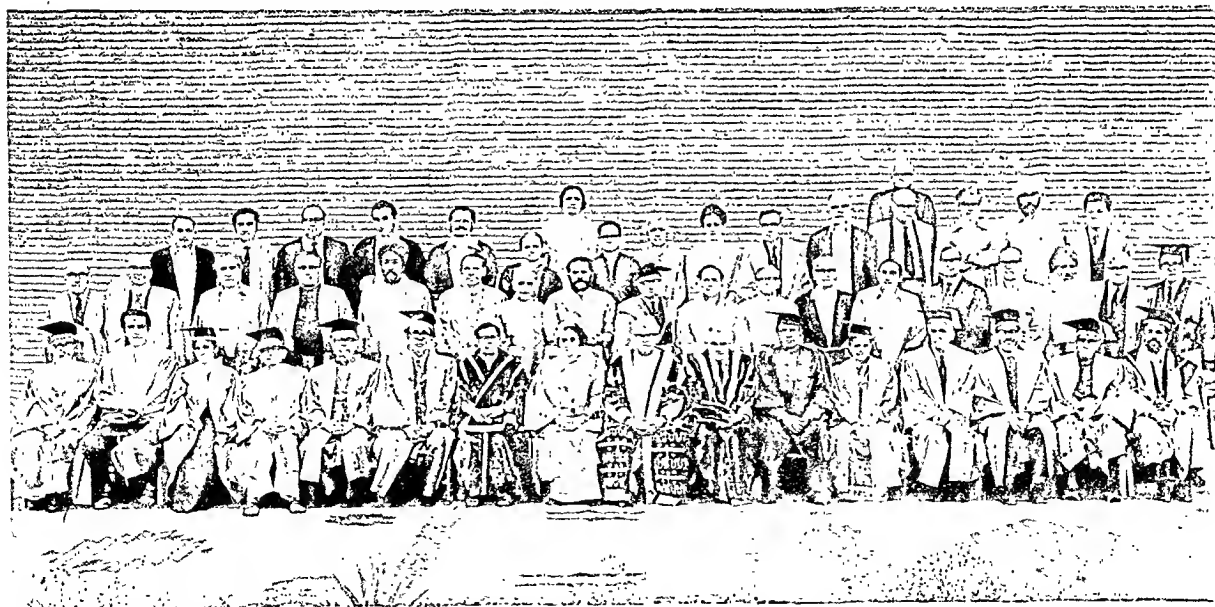


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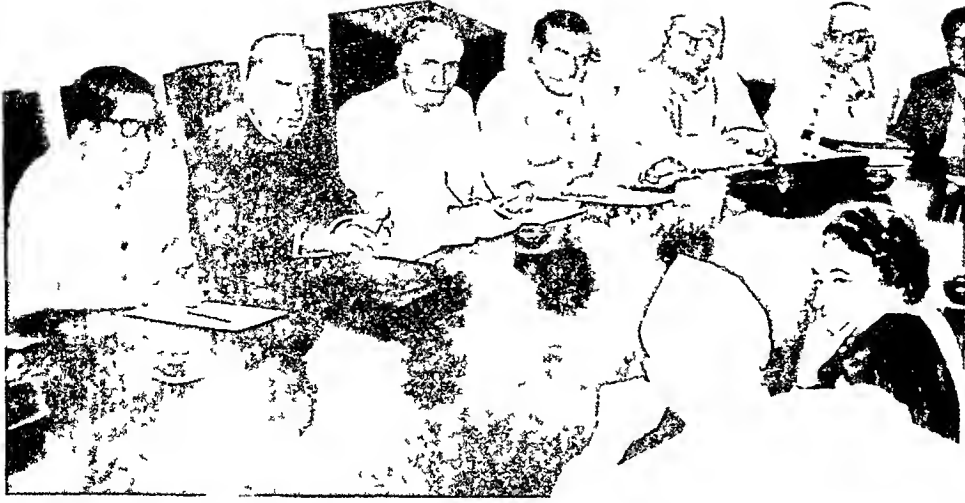
420. On a visit to Bellary, Karnataka. 421. In Tamil Nadu
422. At the blast furnace complex of Bokaro. 423 424. During
a visit to the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre, Trombay



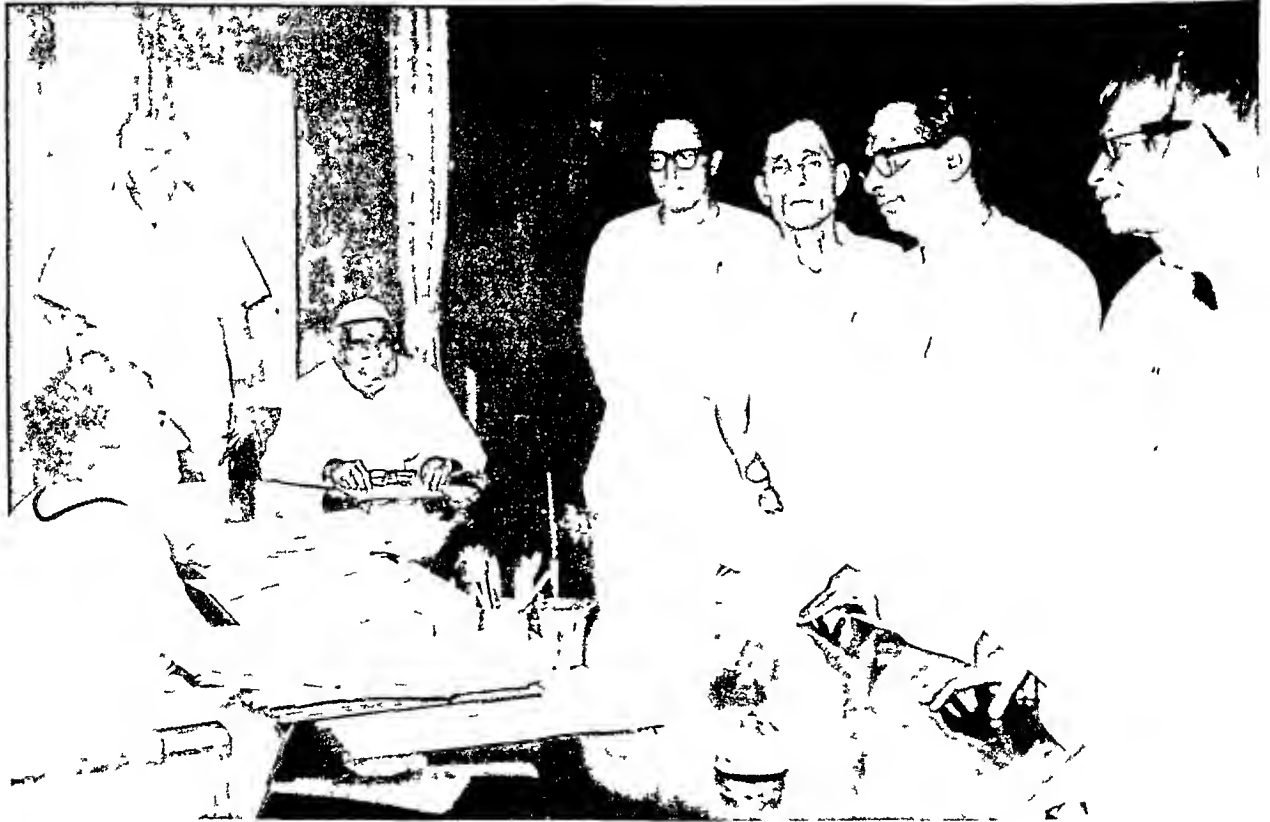
425. At the Governors' Conference in 1966. Sitting, from left: Vishnu Sahay, Sampoorananand, V. V. Giri, Karan Singh, Zakir Husain, S. Radhakrishnan, Indira Gandhi, Padmaja Naidu, Biswanath Das, M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, and A. N. Khosla. Standing, from left: T. Sivasankar, V. Viswanathan, Bhagwan Sahay, N. Kanungo, P. V. Cherman, K. C. Reddy, Pattom Thanu Pillai, Ujjal Singh, Dharma Vira, and A. N. Jha



426. At the golden jubilee of the University of Delhi in 1973. Sitting from left: Abdur Razzaq, Satyajit Ray, Amrita Pritam, Jainendra Kumar, B. N. Ganguli, Zainul Abedin, V. P. Dutt, Indira Gandhi, G. S. Pathak, Sarup Singh, Baleshwar Prasad, M. S. Subbulakshmi, S. Chandrasekhar, M. G. K. Menon, T. R. Seshadri, and E. C. G. Sudarshan

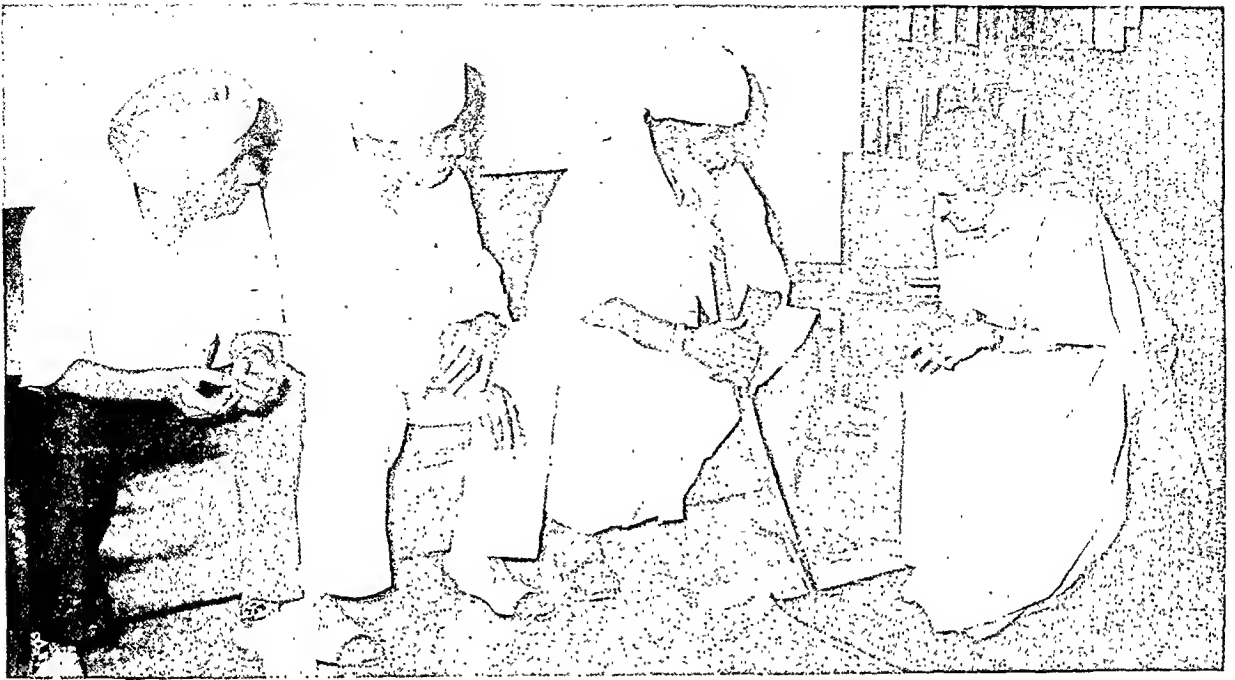


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427. At a meeting with leaders of the Opposition. 428. Meeting some ministers of the United Front Government of West Bengal. 429. Discussions with Sant Fatch Singh. 430. Visit to Rajasthan



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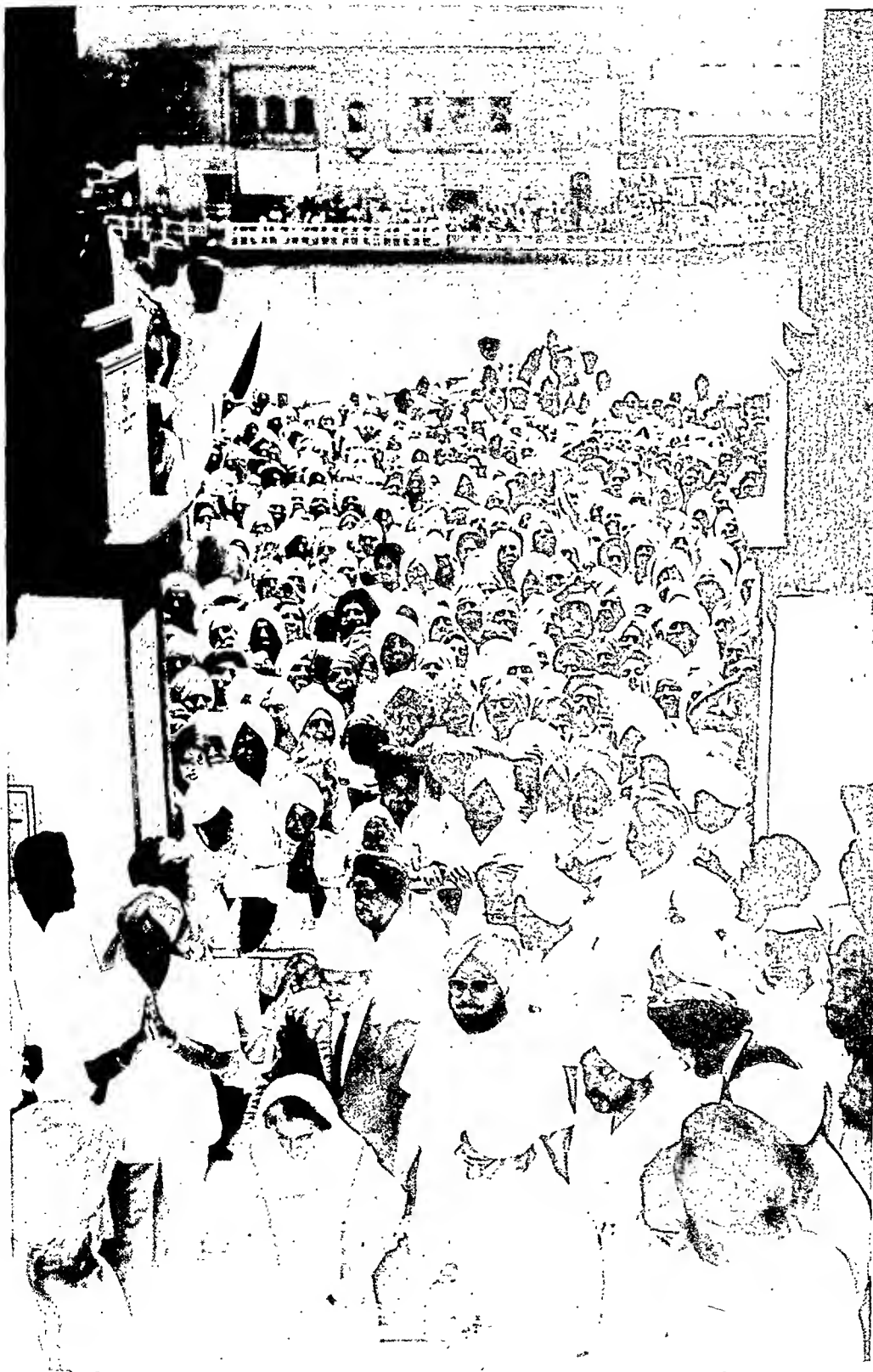


431

431, 432. With Ma Anandamayee
433. Visit to the Golden Temple,
Amritsar



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438

434. Visit to the Cochin
Synagogue. 435, 436. With
The Mother of Pondicherry
437. At the Tirupati temple
438. With some Catholic nuns
439. At the Urs of Hazrat
Nizamuddin, New Delhi



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440

440-443. Scenes from the election tours of 1967

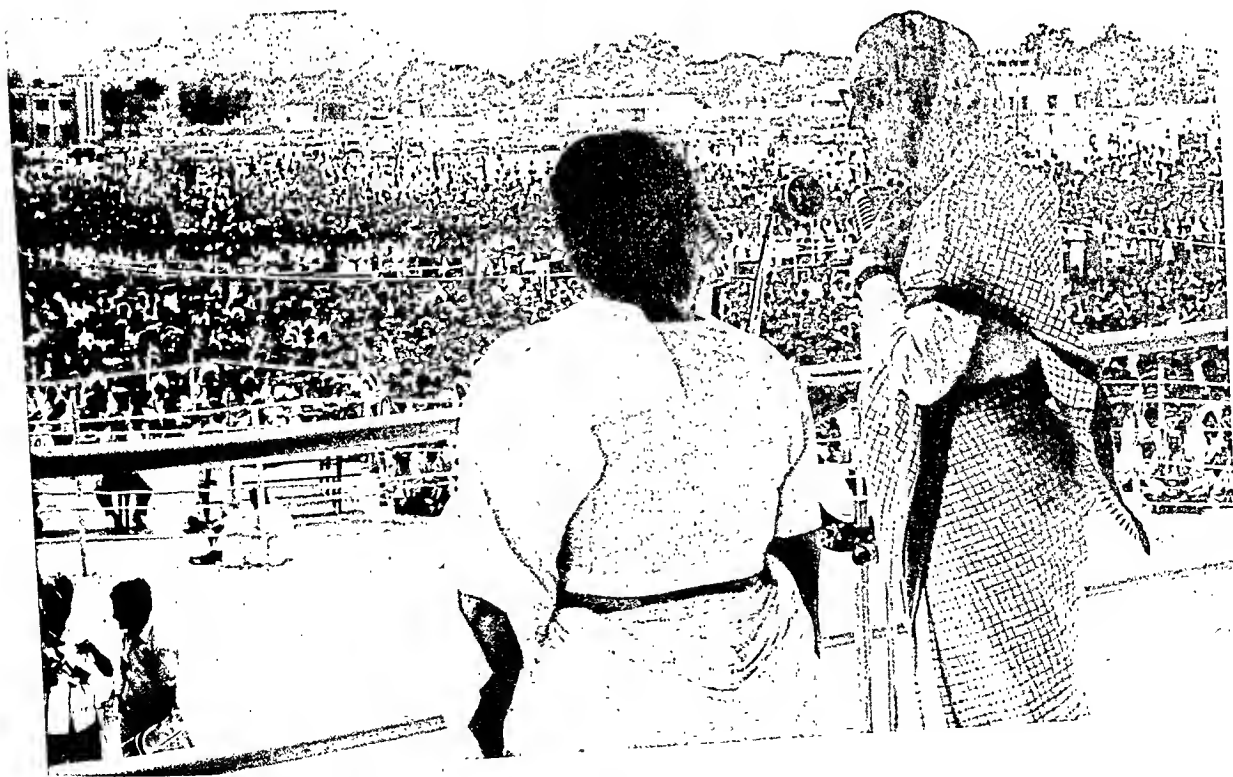
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444. During the election campaign
 445. Driving through flooded roads of
 Calcutta. 446. Leaving the Willingdon
 Hospital, New Delhi, after operation
 following an injury to the nose from a
 stone thrown at an election meeting at
 Bhubaneswar, February 1967
 447. Re-election as Leader of the
 Congress Parliamentary Party; 12 March
 1967. 448. Acknowledging greetings from
 Morarji Desai.



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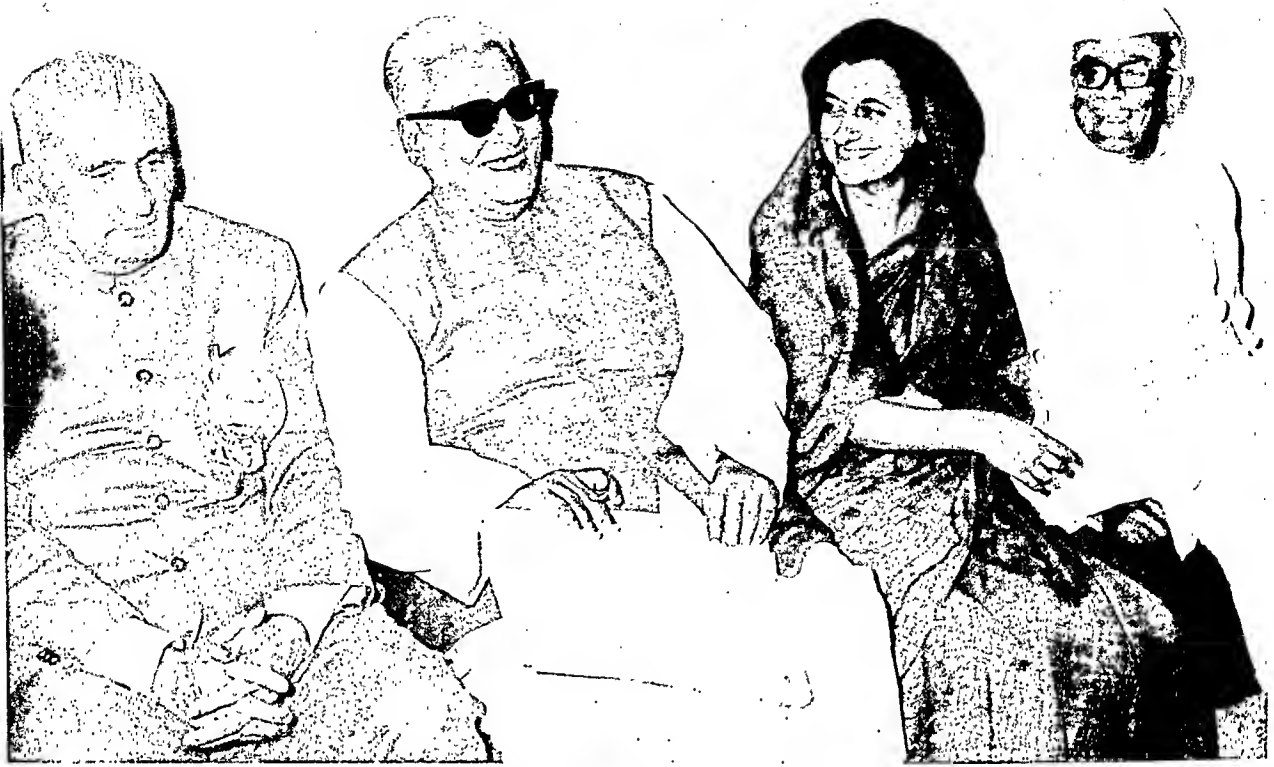
451

449. Being sworn in as Prime Minister, 13 March 1967. 450. With members of the Council of Ministers. 451-453. At the session of the Congress, Jaipur

452



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454. With S. K. Patil, Atulya Ghosh and Sanjiva Reddy at Jaipur. 455. With delegates and volunteers. 456, 457. At the Hyderabad session of the AICC



457



458

458. With Morarji Desai at a meeting of the Congress Working Committee (*by The Times of India*). 459. At another party meeting (*by The Indian Express*) 460. At the funeral of President Zakir Husain, May 1969. 461, 462. At the historic meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Bangalore in July 1969, which witnessed a collision between the Old Guard and the Prime Minister over the question of the nominee for the presidency. The clash led to the exit of Morarji Desai from Government and nationalization of major banks (*by T. L. Ramaswamy*)



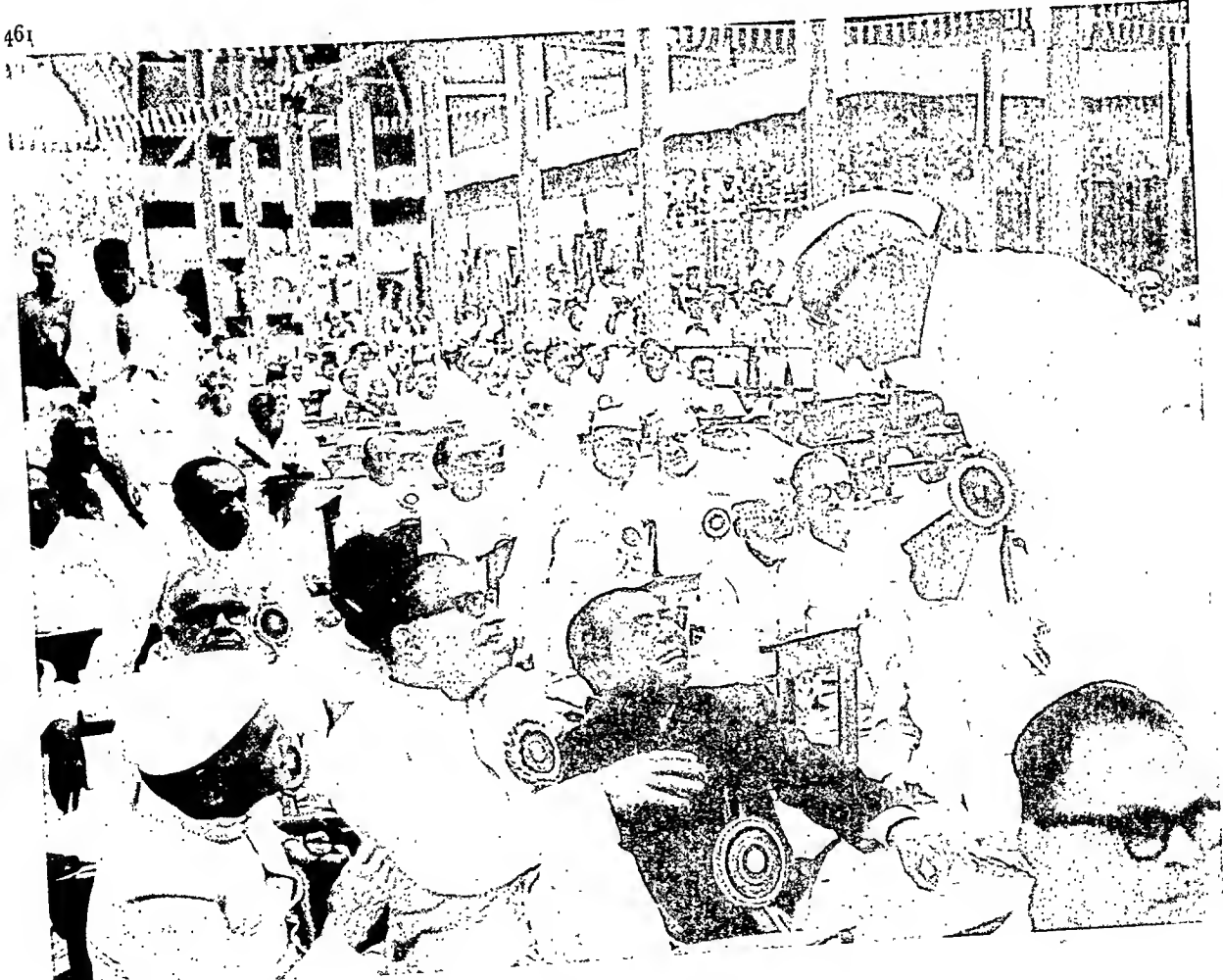
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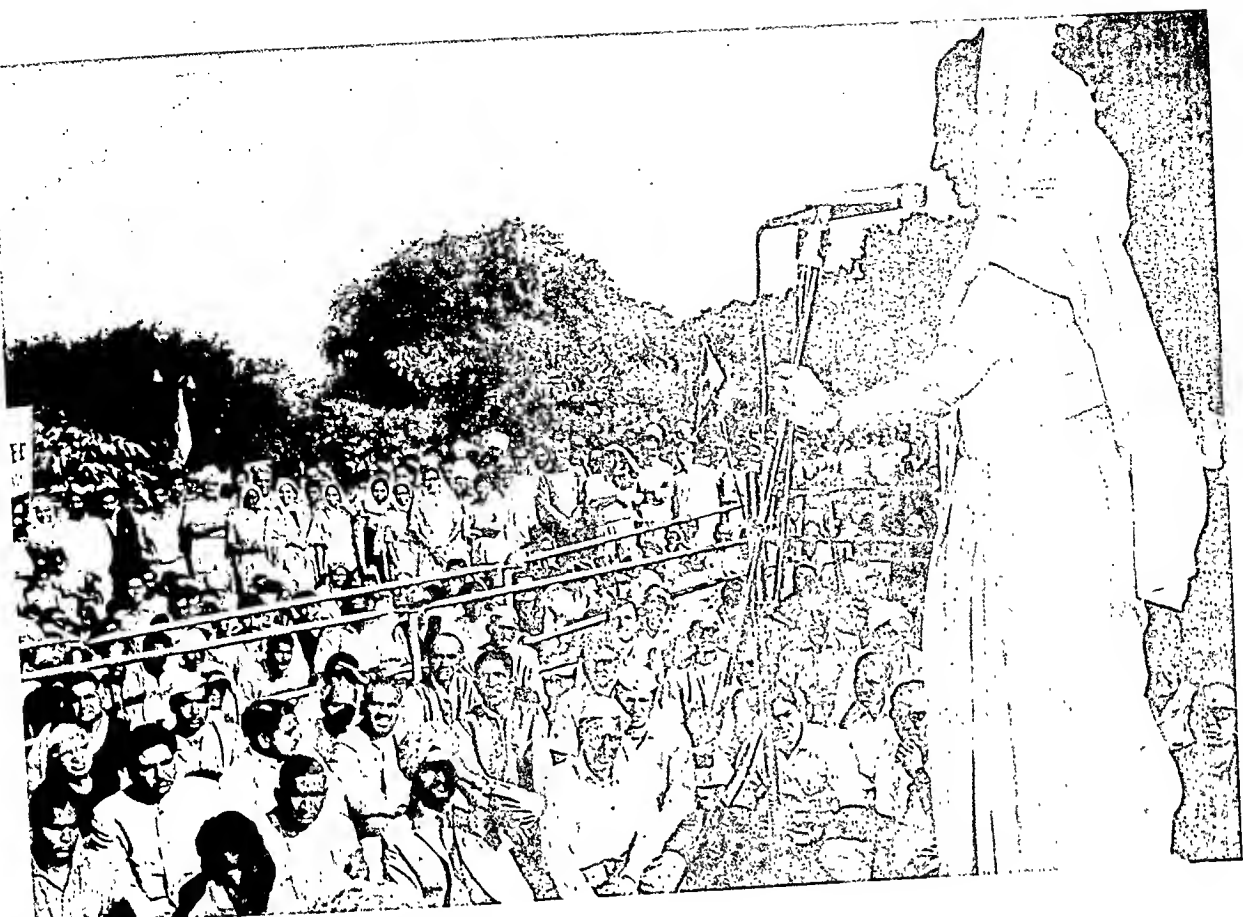
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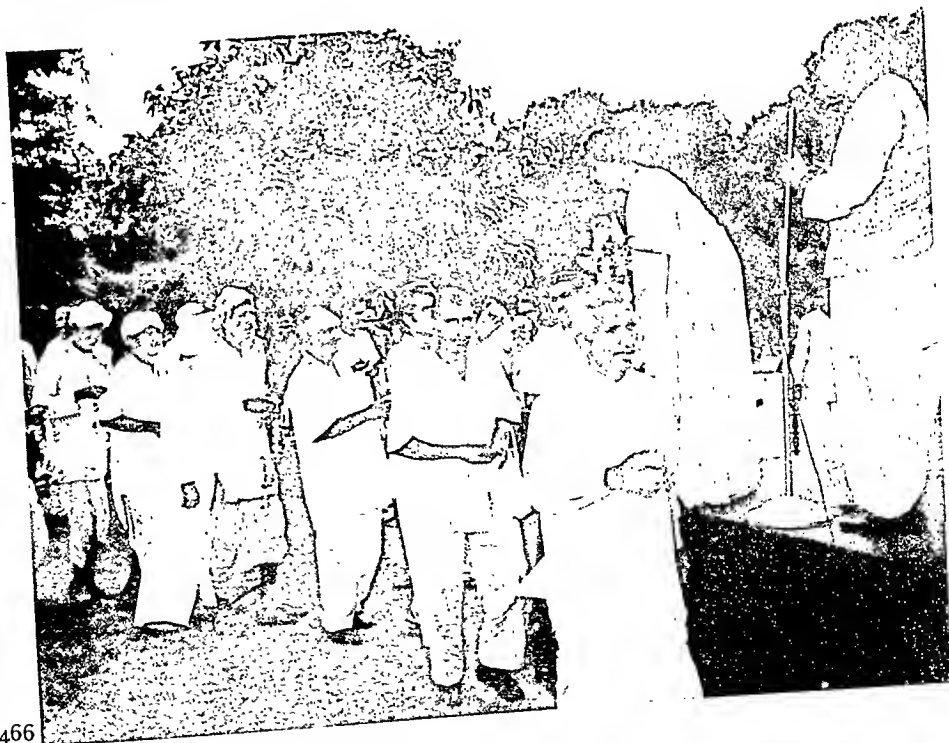


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463-466. Jubilant crowds offering felicitations to the Prime Minister following the decision on bank nationalization.



466



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467. With V. V. Giri and Saraswati Giri, after Giri's victory in the hard-fought election for the presidency of the Republic. 469. S. Nijalingappa, flanked by C. B. Gupta, S. K. Patil, and Atulya Ghosh, announcing the expulsion of Indira Gandhi (*Photograph by N. Thiagarajan*). 468, 470. With Congress leaders at the requisitionists' session of the All India Congress Committee (*by Patriot*)



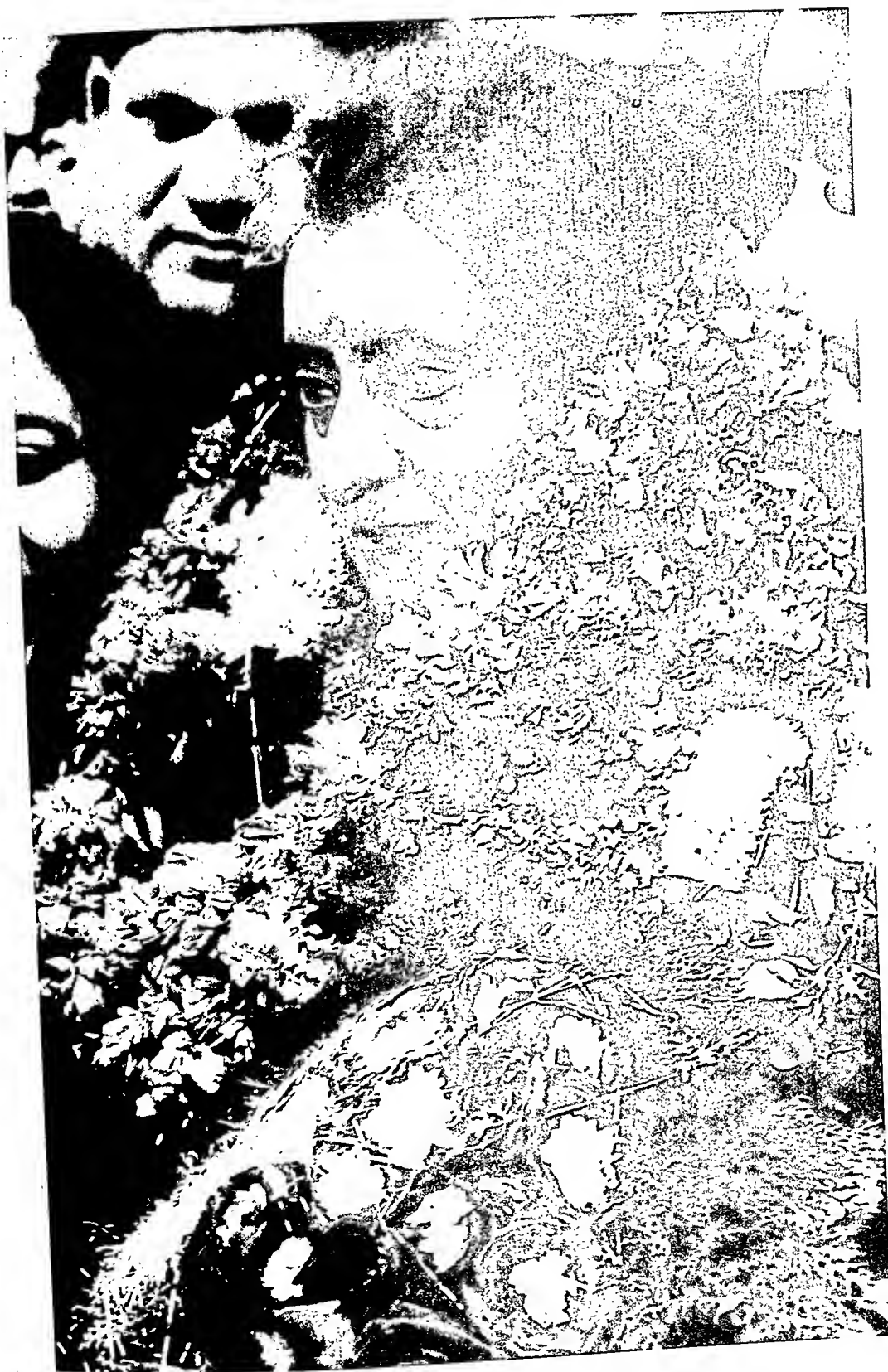
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471. With
Fakhruddin
Ali Ahmed,
Y. B. Chavan
and Jagjivan
Ram after
the split. 472,
473. At the
requisitioned
meeting of
the AICC
(by Patriot)



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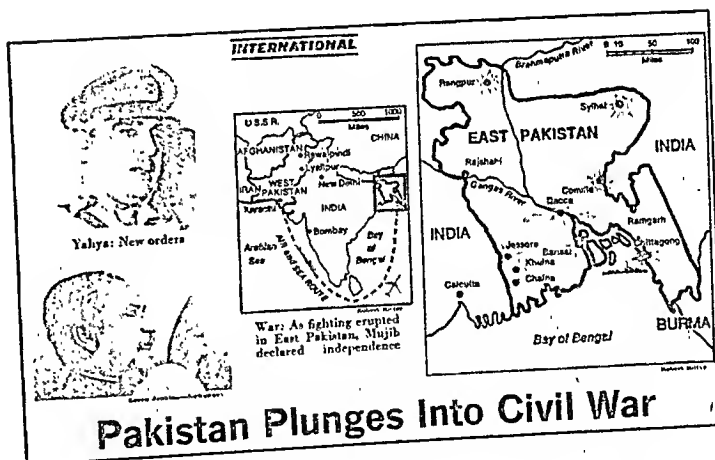
484

481. On being re-elected as Leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party after the elections of 1971. 482. Meeting the press when the landslide victory of the Congress became known, 11 March 1971. 483. Being sworn in as Prime Minister for third time, 18 March 1971. 484. With a census enumerator, 10 March 1971



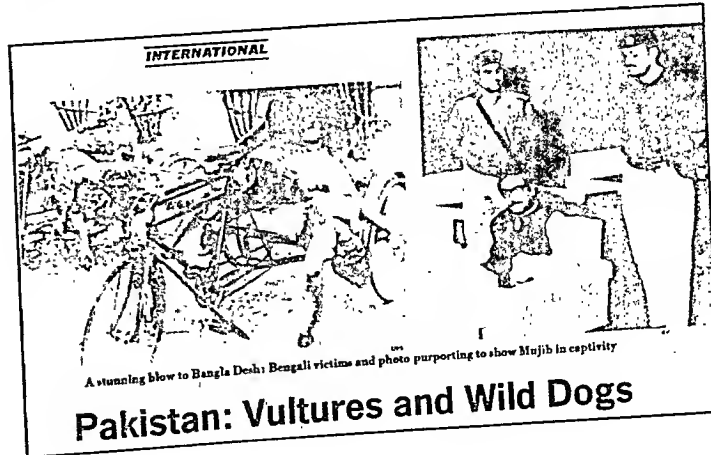
485

485. The exodus from East Pakistan (Bangladesh) after the military crackdown (by the Films Division). 485-A, 485-B. The civil war as reported by *Newsweek*, April 1971



485-A

485-B





486

487

488



486. Refugees on the march. 487, 488.
Tragic scenes on the streets of Dacca (*by*
Kishore Parekh)



489

489. On way to a refugee camp in the north-east. 490. With refugee women from East Pakistan (Bangladesh). 491. At an Assam refugee camp

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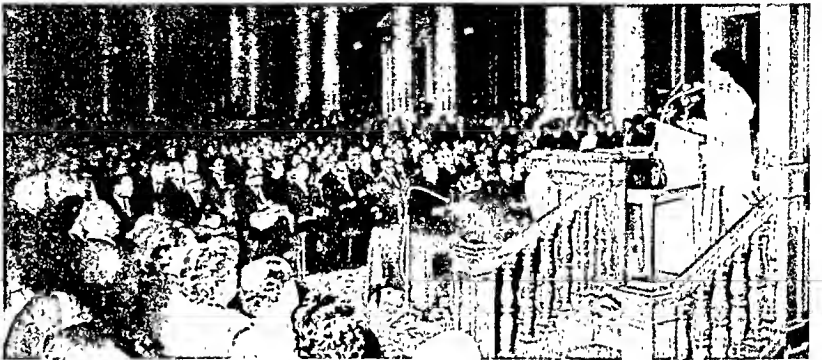
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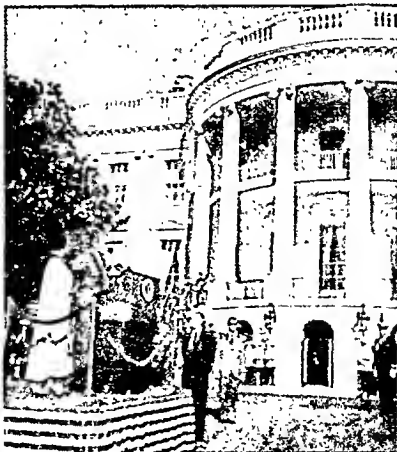
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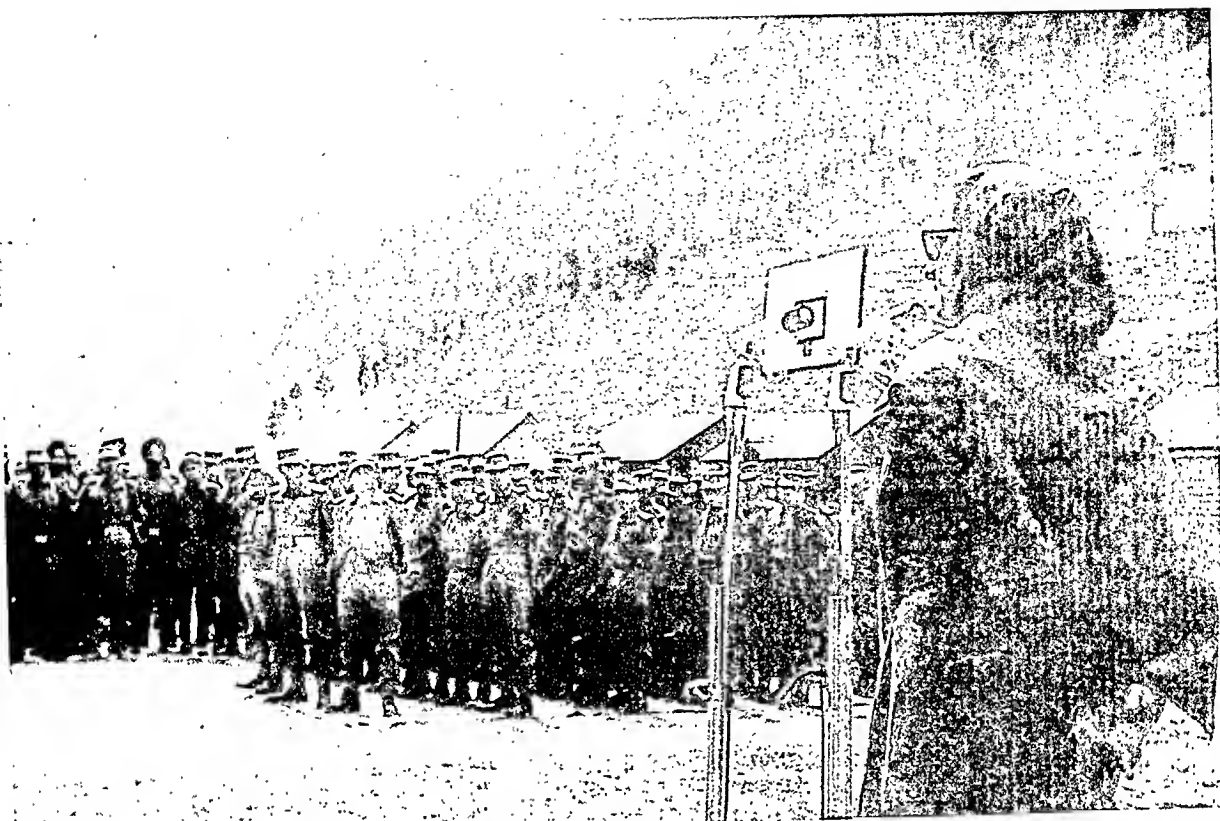
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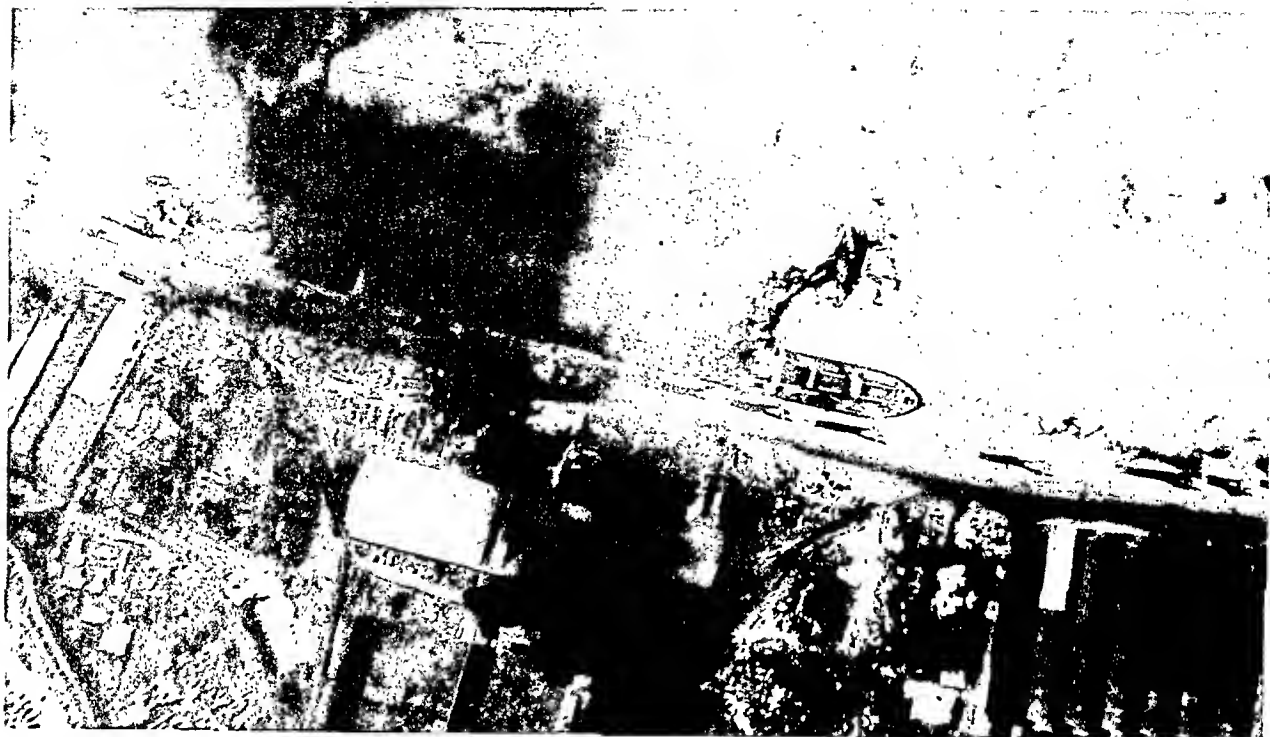
502

492. Being seen off by the Service Chiefs, General Manekshaw, Admiral Nanda, and Air Chief Marshal Lal on her departure for Europe and America to discuss Bangladesh with world leaders

493. With Chancellor Krcisky of Austria. 494. With Prime Minister Heath of the United Kingdom. 495. With Prime Minister Eyskens of Belgium. 496. With President Pompidou of France. 497. At the National Press Club, Washington. 498. At the Foreign Policy Association, Vienna. 499. Meeting at the Association of World Affairs, Washington. 500. With President Nixon at the White House, Washington. 501. With Chancellor Willy Brandt in Bonn. 502. At a forward post in Kashmir. 503. At a forward post in the Eastern sector



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506

Scenes from the Indo-Pakistan war of December 1971. 504. Chittagong harbour being bombed. 505. Indian troops fanning out in Bangladesh. 506. From a tank battle on the Western front. 507. Gen. A.A.K. Niazi (right), Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan Forces, surrendering to Lt.-Gen. J. S. Aurora, Dacca, 16 December 1971

508. Offer of cease-fire in the West. 509. Replying to felicitations at a meeting of Members of Parliament in the Central Hall on 18 December
 510. Receiving felicitations from U. S. Dikshit. 511. Visiting wounded jawans. 512. Receiving Sheikh Mujibur Rahman at the Palam airport, 10 January 1972



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Republic Day, 1972

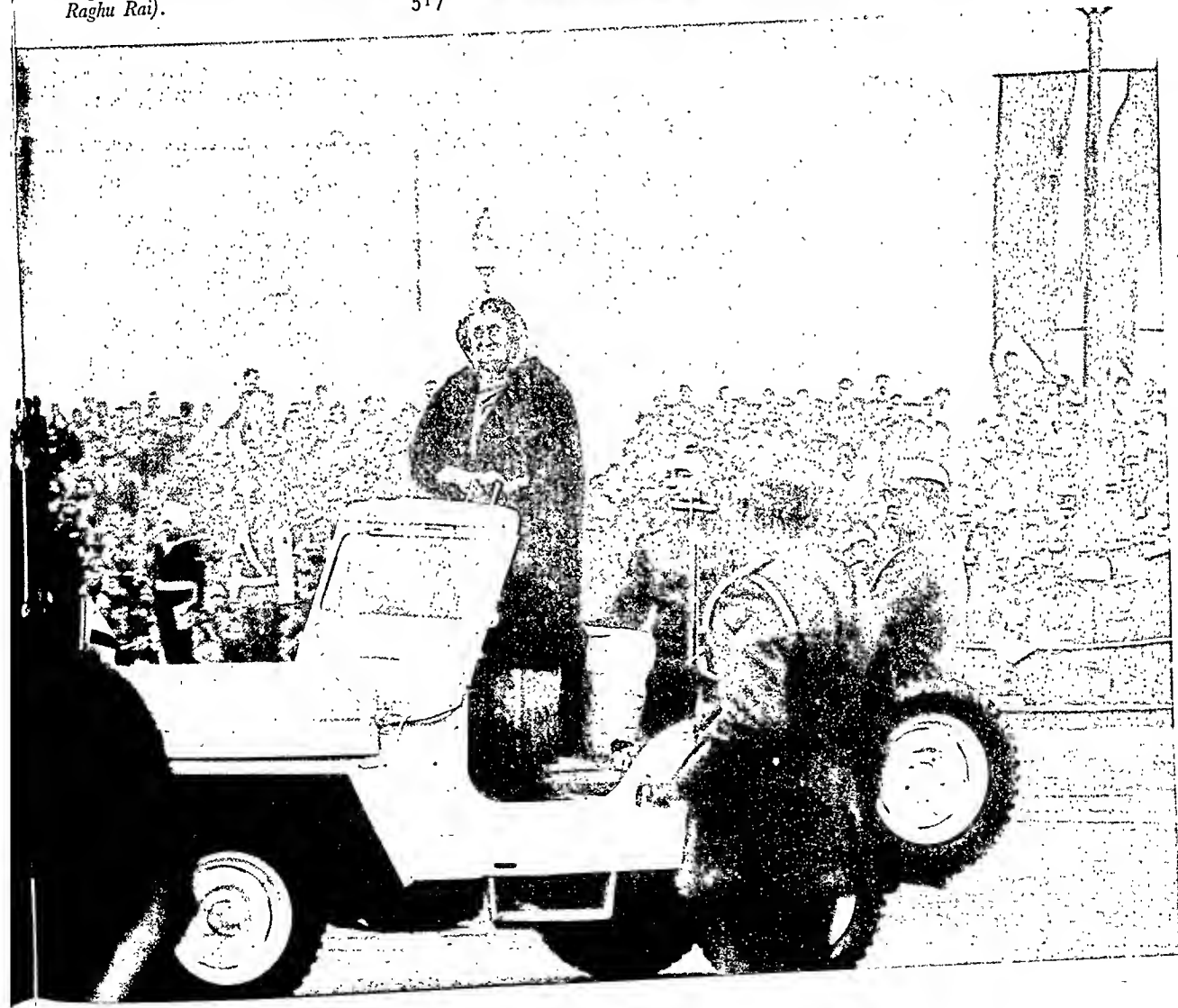
513. Greeting the President after being invested with the Bharat Ratna. 514. Obverse and reverse of the Bharat Ratna medal. 515. The Prime Minister with her family and colleagues at the investiture ceremony where she was decorated with the Bharat Ratna. 516. Wearing the honour. 517. Obverse and reverse of the Ceres medal struck by the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization bearing Indira Gandhi's profile to mark the world campaign against hunger. 518. Driving through Vijay Chowk during the Republic Day Parade (*by Raghu Rai*).

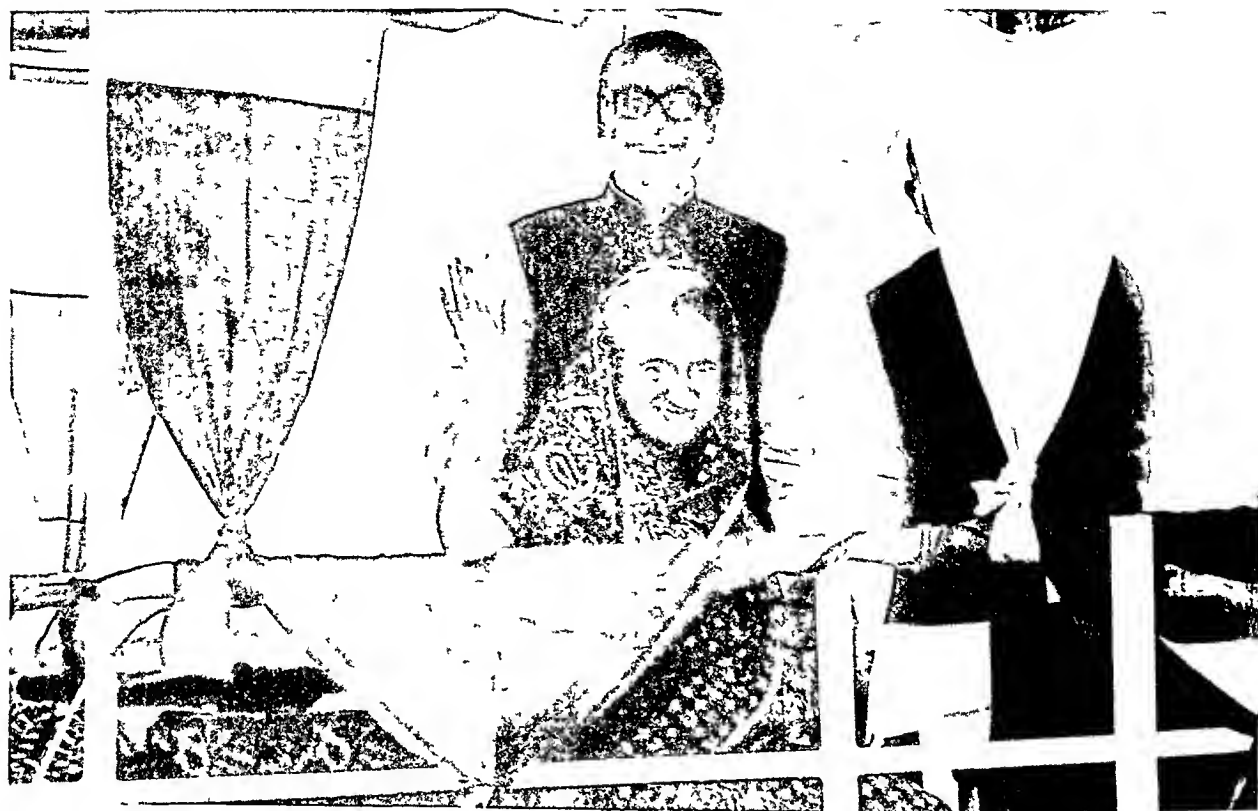


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During visit to Dacca in March 1972. 519. With Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on a steamer down Sitalaksha River. 520. A part of the gathering at the public rally in Dacca 521. Being introduced to members of the Bangladesh Cabinet on arrival in Dacca 522. With Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his family

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529

At the Simla talks. 523. Receiving Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, 28 June 1972. 524. At the formal talks between the two delegations. 525-527. At personal talks between the two leaders. 528. Signing the Agreement, 2 July 1972. 529. At President Bhutto's departure

526



530



530. At special convocation of Visva-Bharati, where the Prime Minister, as Acharya, conferred a doctoral degree on President Abu Sayeed Choudhury of Bangladesh, 2 December 1972 (by *The Hindustan Standard*). 531. With President Giri and other leaders (by Raghu Rai)

531



532



533

532. With Shankar Dayal Sharma, President of the Congress, at a session of the AICC (from *Patriot*)

533. With Shrimati Nellie Sengupta, veteran nationalist leader, at the plenary session of the Congress in Calcutta, December 1972. Standing at the back are S. D. Sharma, Siddhartha Shankar Ray and Maya Ray (from *The Hindustan Standard*)



534

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536



534, 535. At a session of the AICC in New Delhi (by *Kashmiri Lal*, *Capital News Photos*). 536. With H. N. Sethna, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, at a press conference after the peaceful nuclear explosion in the Rajasthan desert, 18 May 1974. 537. Receiving honorary degree from Waseda University, Tokyo, in 1969. 538. Receiving honorary degree from Oxford University, 1971. 539. The Oxford scroll



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Universitas Oxoniensis

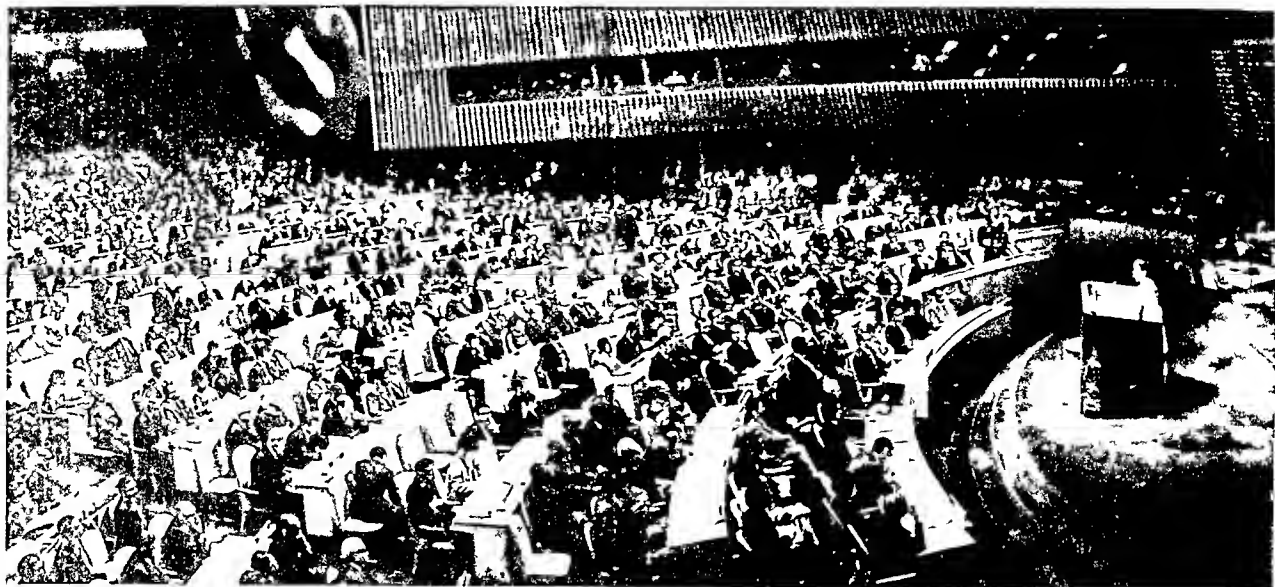


*Ego Universitatis Oxoniensis Registrarius
per praesentes testor
Indira Gandhi
e Collegio de Somerville
die II^a mensis Novembris A.S. MCMLXXI
in domo Congregationis admissum fuisse
ad gradum
DOCTORIS IN JURE CIVILI
honoris causa*



Registrarius

*Datum Oxoniae
die II^a mensis Novembris
A.S. MCMLXXI*



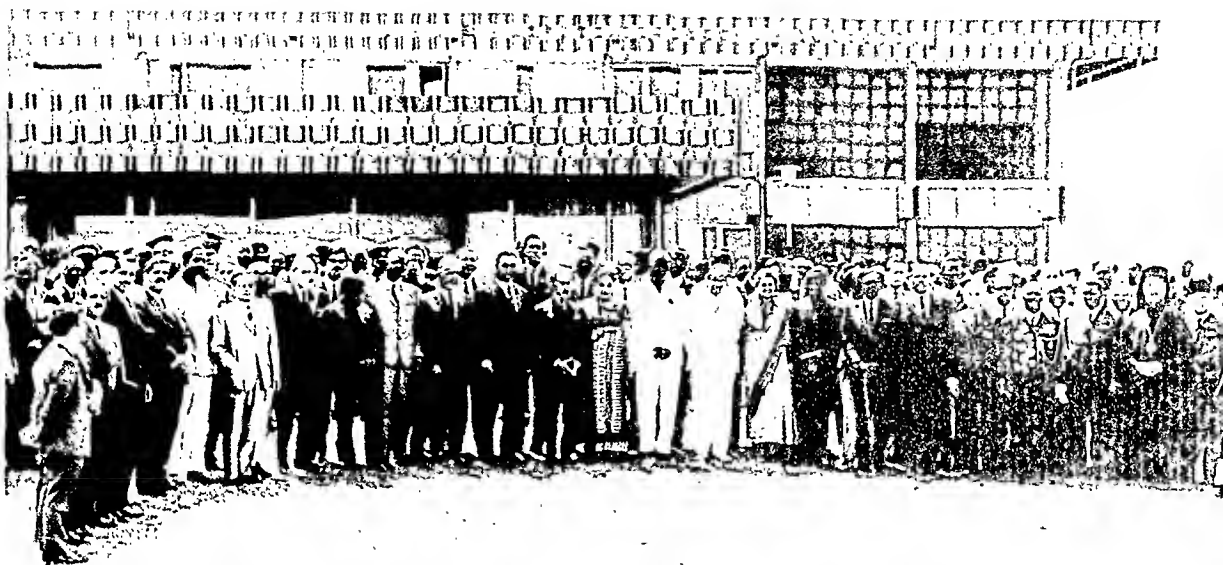
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540. Addressing the silver jubilee session of the U.N. General Assembly, October 1970. 541. With members of the Indian delegation
542. With Soviet leaders and other statesmen at the Lenin Mausoleum at the Red Square, Moscow, watching the parade at the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union, November 1967
543. At the Third Conference of Non-aligned Countries at Lusaka, Zambia, September 1970
544. With Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London, January 1969





545



546

545. After addressing the U.N. Conference on Environment, Stockholm, June 1972 (by *Dipak Lahiri*). 546. With some leading authors and artists of Japan during tour, 1969 547 to 550. With Presidents Tito and Nasser during the tripartite meeting in Delhi in 1966



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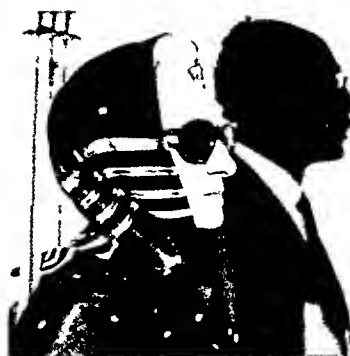
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551. With the Soviet leaders, Leonid Brezhnev (right) and Prime Minister Kosygin (left) in Moscow. 552. With Queen Elizabeth at the Buckingham Palace, London. 553. With President de Gaulle, Madame de Gaulle, Georges Pompidou (then Prime Minister) and Madame Pompidou in Paris in 1966. 554. With President Sadat of Egypt in Cairo in 1970. 555. With Prime Minister Wilson in London. 556. With President Johnson in Washington in 1966. 557. With President Boumedienne during visit to Algeria for the Fourth Conference of Non-aligned Countries, 1973. 558. At the Commonwealth Conference in Kingston, Jamaica, 1975 (by Errol Harvey)

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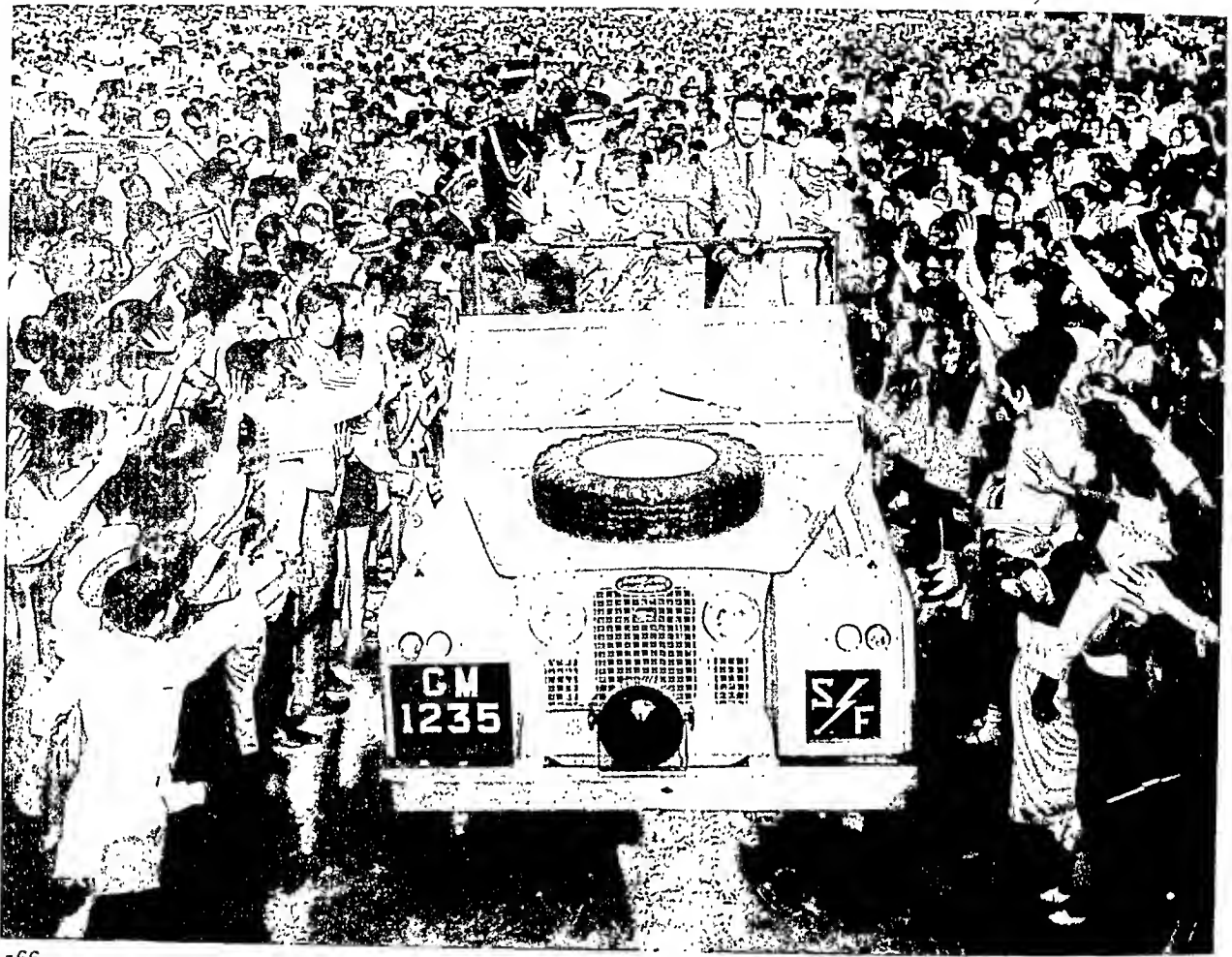


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559. With Premier Trudeau of Canada (by Raghu Rai). 560. With Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike of Sri Lanka (by Raghu Rai). 561. With the Shahbanou of Iran 562. With Premier Fidel Castro of Cuba at the Red Fort, New Delhi. 563. With President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia. 564. With King Birendra and Queen Aiswarya of Nepal 565. A stroll on the beach at Sandoway, Burma, with President Ne Win and Madame Ne Win



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566. Greeted by the people of Mauritius. At right is Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, Prime Minister of Mauritius. 567. With the people of Nepal. 568. At an informal gathering in Moscow, 1971. 569. In Hungary 570. In Poland. 571. At the temple in Borobodur, Indonesia, 1969 572. During visit to Brazil, 1968

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573. With King Jigme Dorji of Bhutan and members of the Royal Family during visit, 1968. 574. Offering homage at funeral of King Jigme, 1972. 575. With the new King, Jigme Singhye. 576. At Thimpu



577



581



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582

577. With Zubin Mehta, the conductor (by R. N. Khanna, USIS). 578. With her teacher, Mlle. L. Hemmerlin, Paris, 1971. 579. With Dame Sybil Thorndike, London. 580. With Alva and Gunnar Myrdal. 581. With President Zakir Husain at Id-uz-Zuha festival. 582. With Andre Malraux. 583. With Tenzing Norkay. 584. With Coretta King (by I. D. Beri of USIS)



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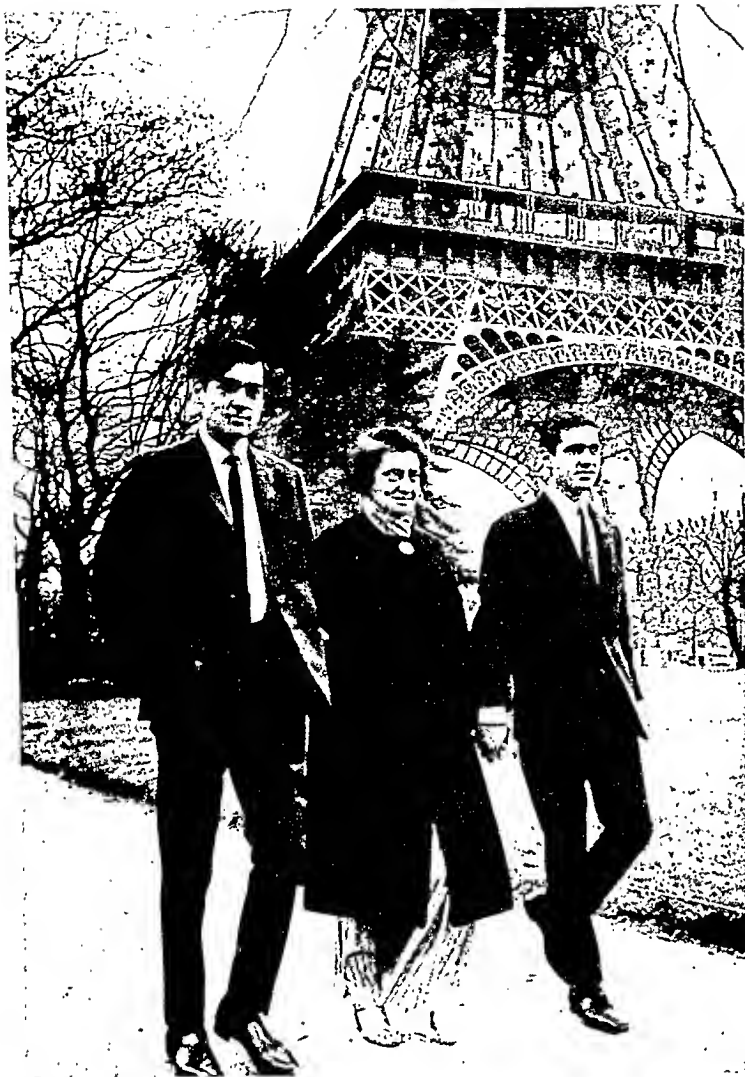
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585. With Acharya Vinoba Bhave. 586. Receiving Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan 587. With Mother Teresa. 588. With Vice-President Pathak, President Giri, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and the Dalai Lama at Rajghat on the birth centenary of Mahatma Gandhi, 2 October 1969 589. During first year of Prime Ministership





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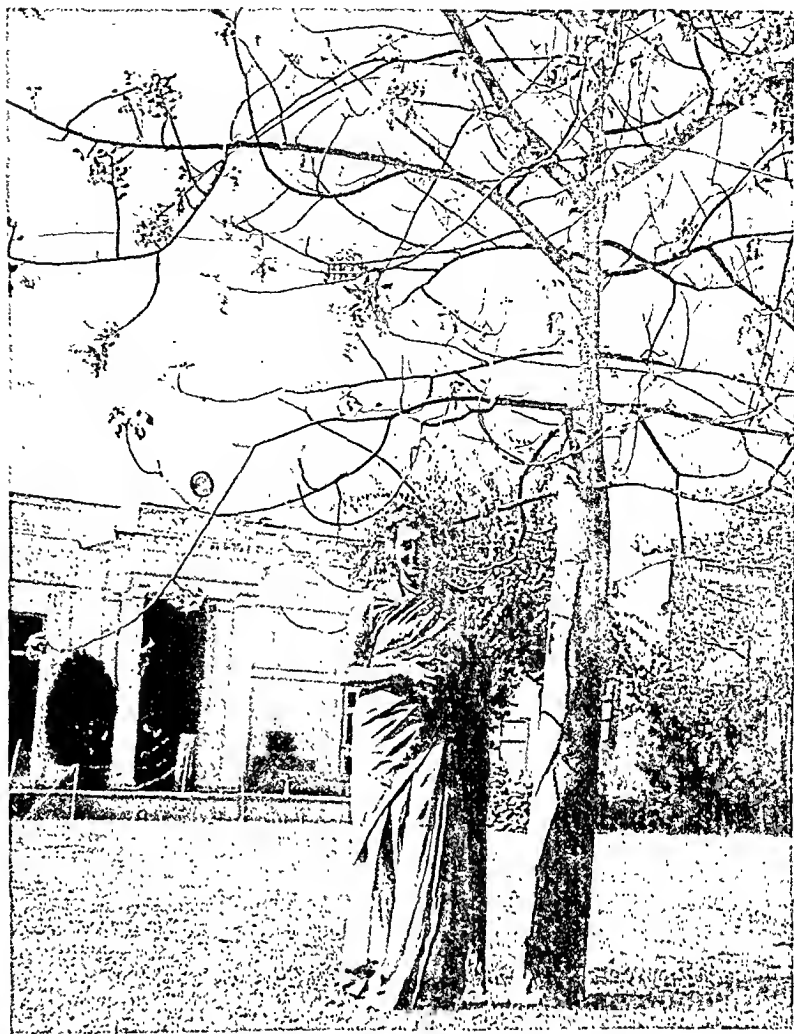
594



590, 594. Stroll near Eiffel Tower in Paris with sons Rajiv and Sanjay, 1966 (by Kelvin Brodie)
 591. Sanjay Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi. 592, 593. With sons at home. 595 to 597. At 1 Safdarjung Road (Picture 597 by Sven Simon)



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598. At the marriage of Rajiv Gandhi with Sonia Maino on 25 February 1968 599. The families of the bride and bridegroom 600. The bride's family. 601. The bride. 602. The mehndi ceremony

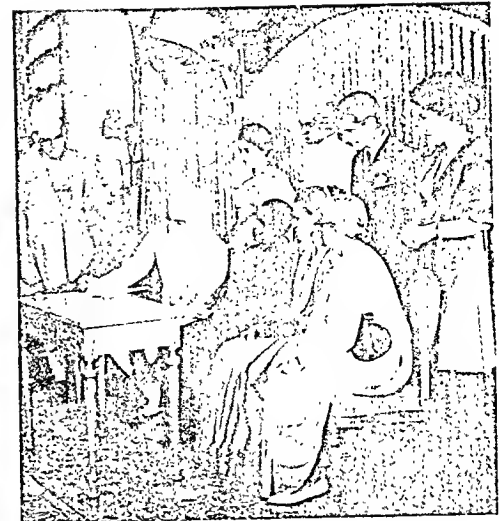


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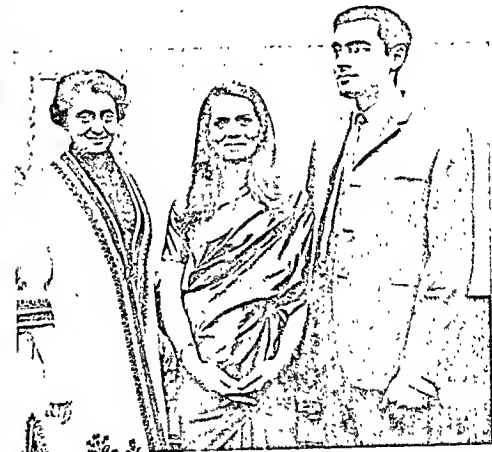


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603. Exchanging garlands. 604. With President Zakir Husain and Vice-President Giri at the reception. 605. Signing the register. 606, 607. With son and daughter-in-law



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608. With Sonia Gandhi's parents and relations. 609. Evening at home. 610. Evening with Ambassador Keating. 611. With Mrs. Maino, Sonia Gandhi's mother.



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612. At breakfast table (by Baldev)
 613. During visit to Afghanistan
 614. Rajiv and Sonia Gandhi (by N.
 Thiagarajan, *The Times of India*)



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615. At Christmas time. 616. Rahul, grandson, born on 19 June 1970. 617. The family at an exhibition. 618. Rahul, Sonia and Rajiv. 619 to 622. With grandson (Picture 619 is from *The Indian Express*.)



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623 to 627. More pictures with grandson (Picture 627 by Marc Riboud — Agence Magnum Photos)







628 628. Priyanka, grand-daughter, born on 12 January 1972
629 to 631. More pictures of grandchildren. 632. Rahul
with statue of Mahatma Gandhi (*by Raghu Rai*) 633.
Rahul, Rajiv, Sonia, and Priyanka



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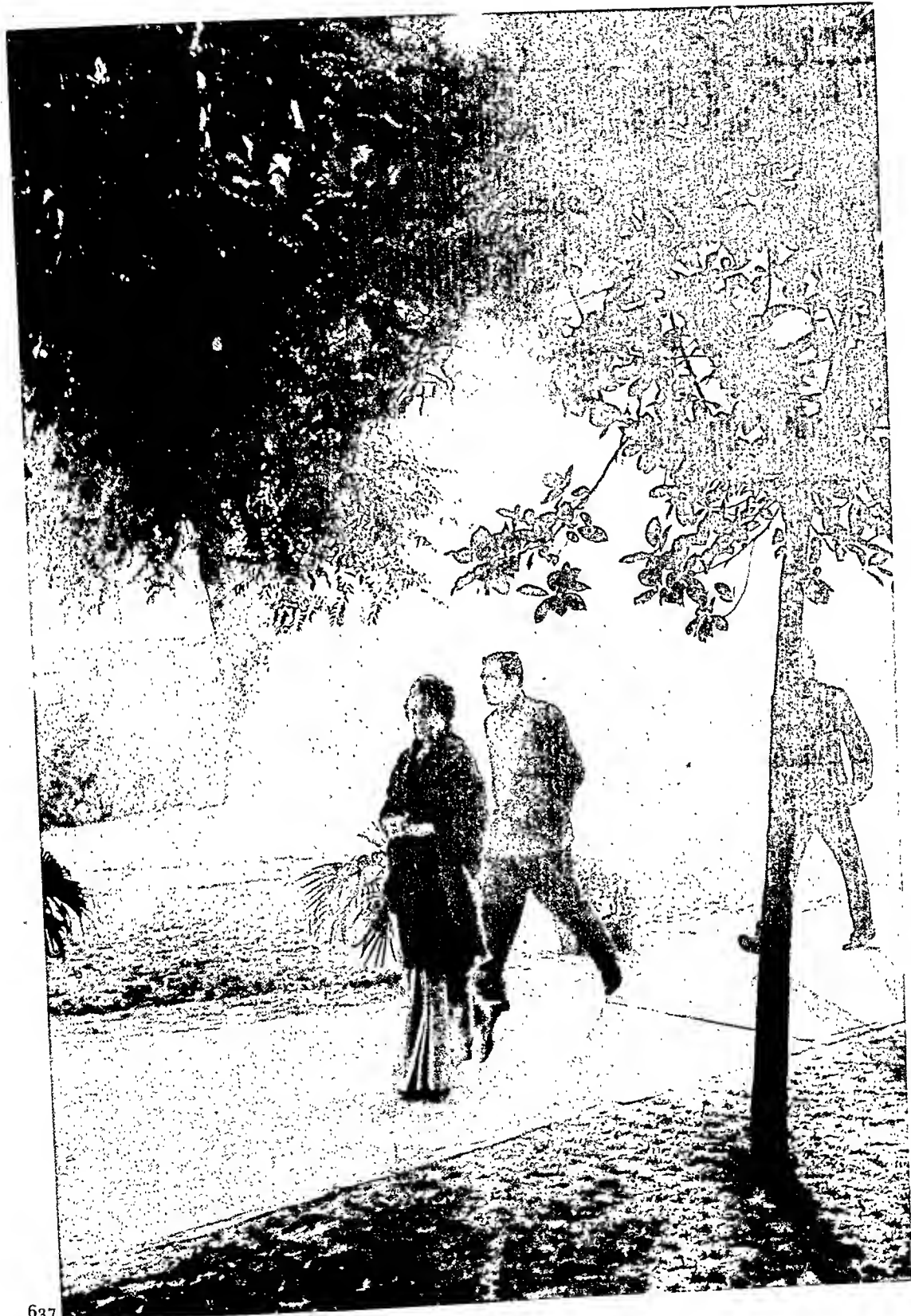
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634. At Palam airport
635. With Vimla Sindhi,
Amie Crishna, Teji
Bachchan and Usha
Bhagat. 636. On the
lawns of 1 Safdarjung
Road. 637. Going out to
meet morning visitors
(Picture 637 by Marc
Riboud—Agence Magnum
Photos)



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638 to 648. The people who come to see the Prime Minister at her home



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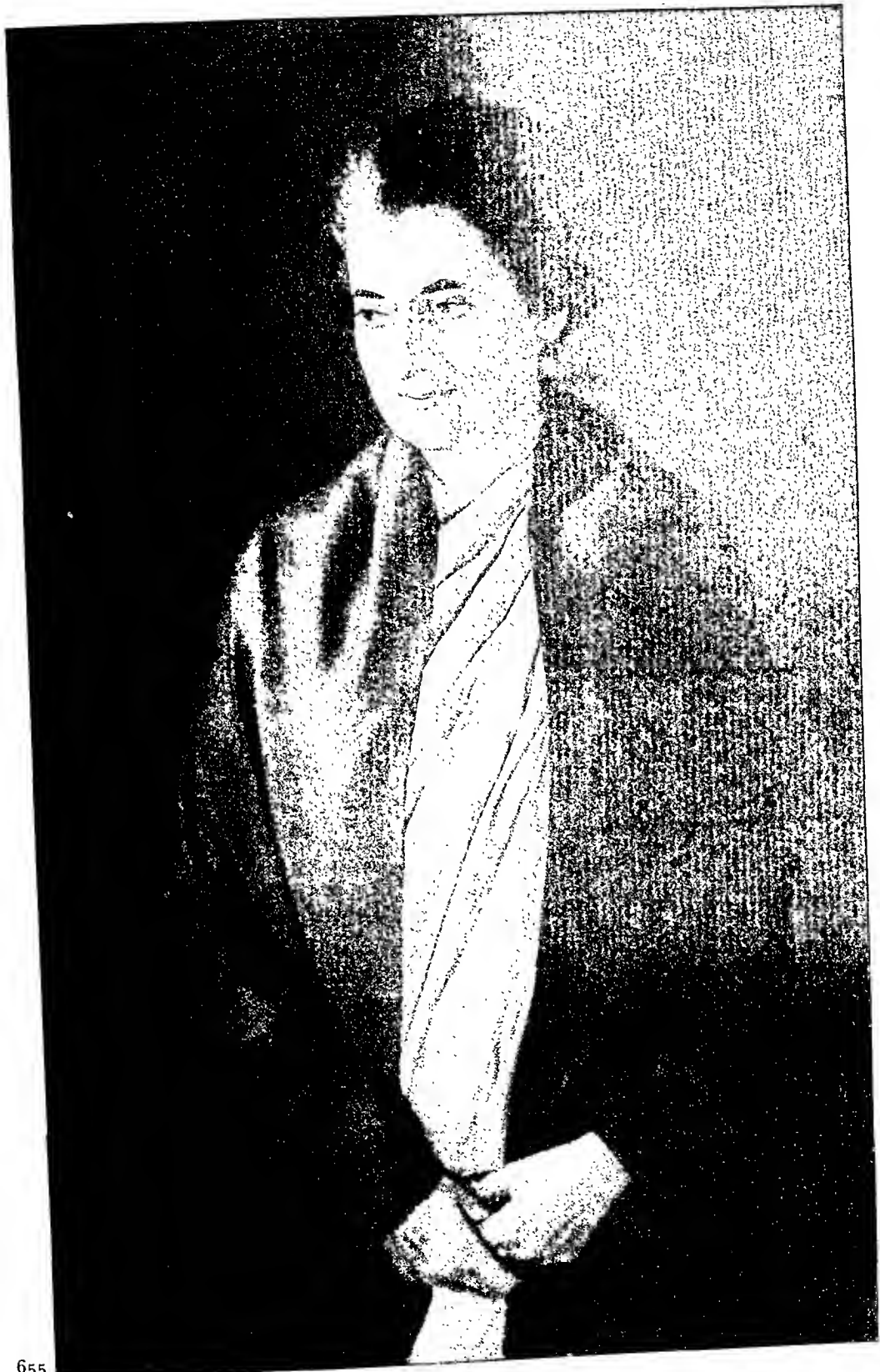


649 to 654. More visitors. 652. With Bhangra dancers from Punjab, at a reception at Teen Murti House, Republic Day Week, 1970 (by Ed Keesling, a Peace Corps volunteer)



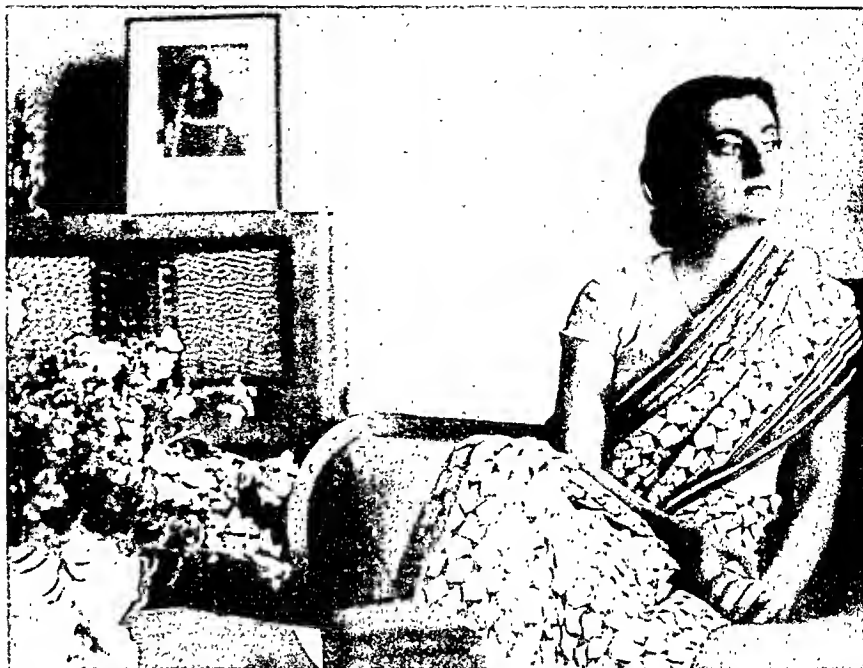
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656 to 668. Some portraits, early and recent



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669 to 676. Some official portraits

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677. In her office in Parliament House (*Sven Simon*). 678. At a meeting. 679. Arriving at her South Block Office. 680. Talking to an interviewer (*from Patriot*). 681. In her South Block Office. 682. In her Parliament House Office (*by Sven Simon*)

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683 to 686. Four studies (by Harry Miller, *The Indian Express*). 687. At a press conference in Vigyan Bhavan, 31 December 1971, soon after the Bangladesh war
688. Studies from another press conference

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689 to 695. More studies from a press conference. 696. At a press conference abroad. 697 to 700. In thoughtful mood. 701. During visit to Kashmir (*from J & K State Government*)



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702. With a Koala bear during visit to Australia, 1968
703. With her Afghan hound, Zabul, in her car (from
The Hindustan Times). 704. Fondling a panther cub
705. With her Siamese cat Zorba. 706. With Golden
Retrievers Pepi and Putli in 1966

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707 to 709. Acknowledging greetings. 710. On a steamer trip in the Sunderbans, West Bengal (from *The Hindusthan Standard, Calcutta*). 711: A portrait



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712 to 715. Moments during visit abroad (Picture 713 is from *The Times*, London.) 716. With folk dancers during a Republic Day festival

Moments during tours in the country. 717. Examining a sword (by Pyare Shivpuri) 718. On mule-back in Himachal Pradesh 719. Inspecting a guard of honour 720. Collecting shells in Goa (from Cirrus Agency, Bombay)



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721. With sculptor Avtar Singh Panwar. 722. Being interviewed on the lawns of her house. 723. During visit to Himachal Pradesh 724. At an air display

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725 to 734. More informal portraits (Picture 732 by Kashmiri Lal)

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735. In a Buddhist temple in Japan. 736. Working during an air journey. 737. With President Zakir Husain, autographing bats for cricketers. 738. At a convocation (by *T. R. Chopra of Patriot*). 739. At a public meeting in Leh, Ladakh. 740. In Himachal Pradesh. 741. During visit to Maharashtra. (by *N. A. Karandikar, Sangli*). 742. On a visit to the mountains. 743. At Sydney Opera House under construction, 1968



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744. Making a point (by Sven Simon). 745. During a visit to Bangladesh refugee camp (from Patriot). 746. At a press conference in Dacca, March 1972 (from The Hindusthan Standard). 747. At a session of the AICC (by T. S. Satyan). 748, 749. Two portraits. (748 is by Sven Simon.)



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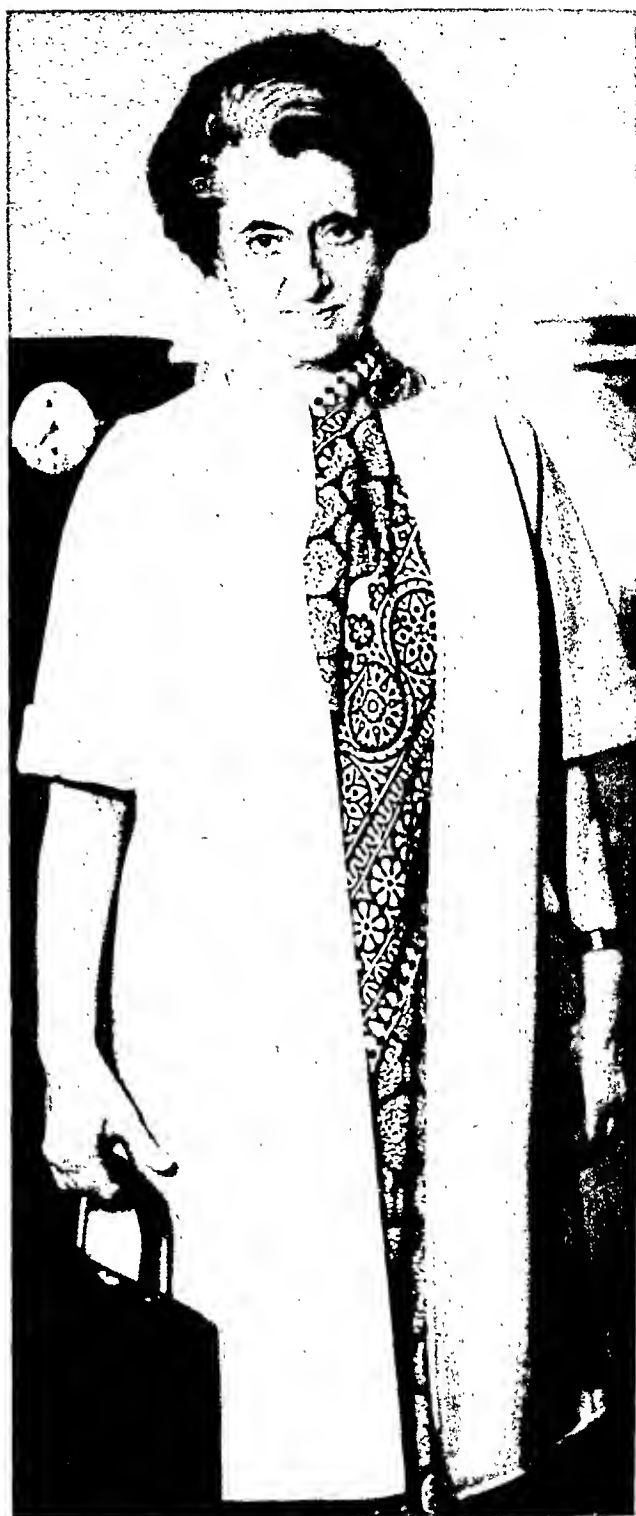


750. At an election meeting. 751. At a press conference. 752 to 755. More studies (Picture 753 is from Udayavani, Manipal and 754 by Marc Riboud—Agence Magnum Photos). 756. During visit to Bulgaria. 757. With Budget documents as Minister of Finance, February 1970. 758. During tour of Canada



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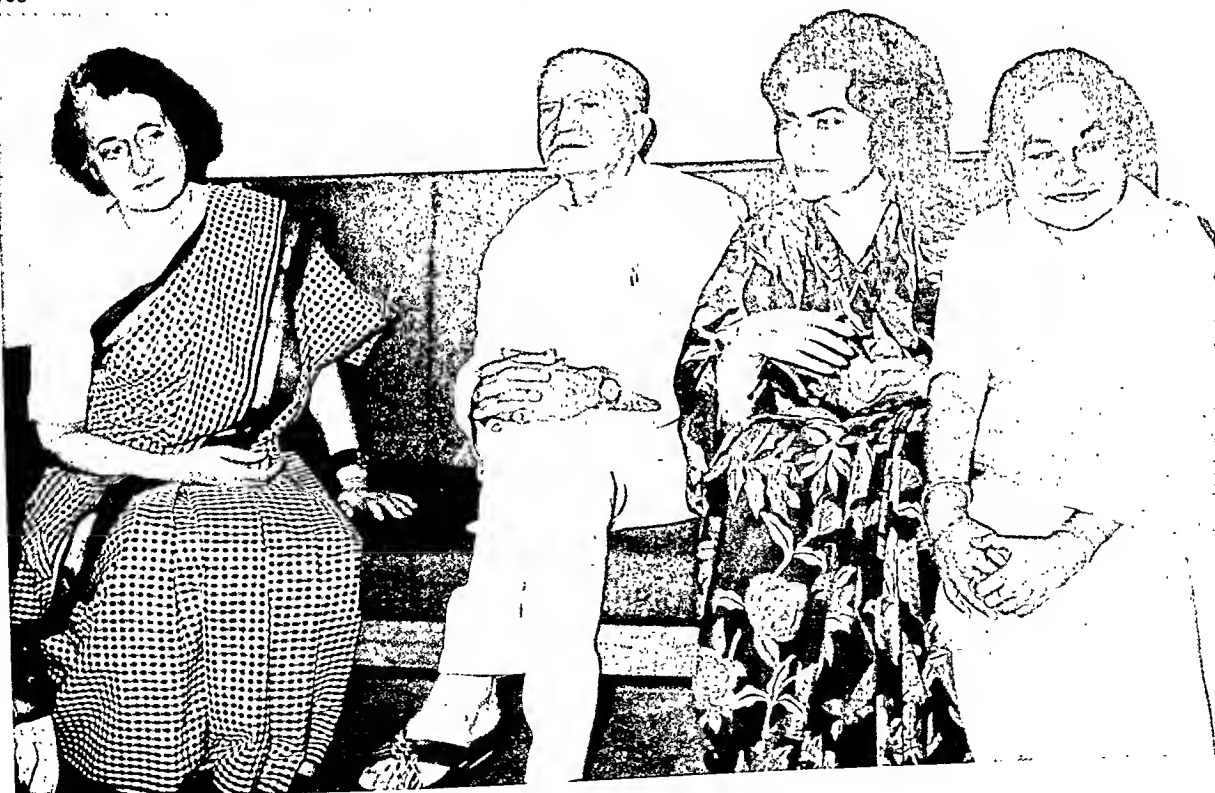
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759. At the swearing in ceremony in Rashtrapati Bhavan of Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed as President on 24 August, 1974. 760. With President Ahmed and Begum Abida Ahmed

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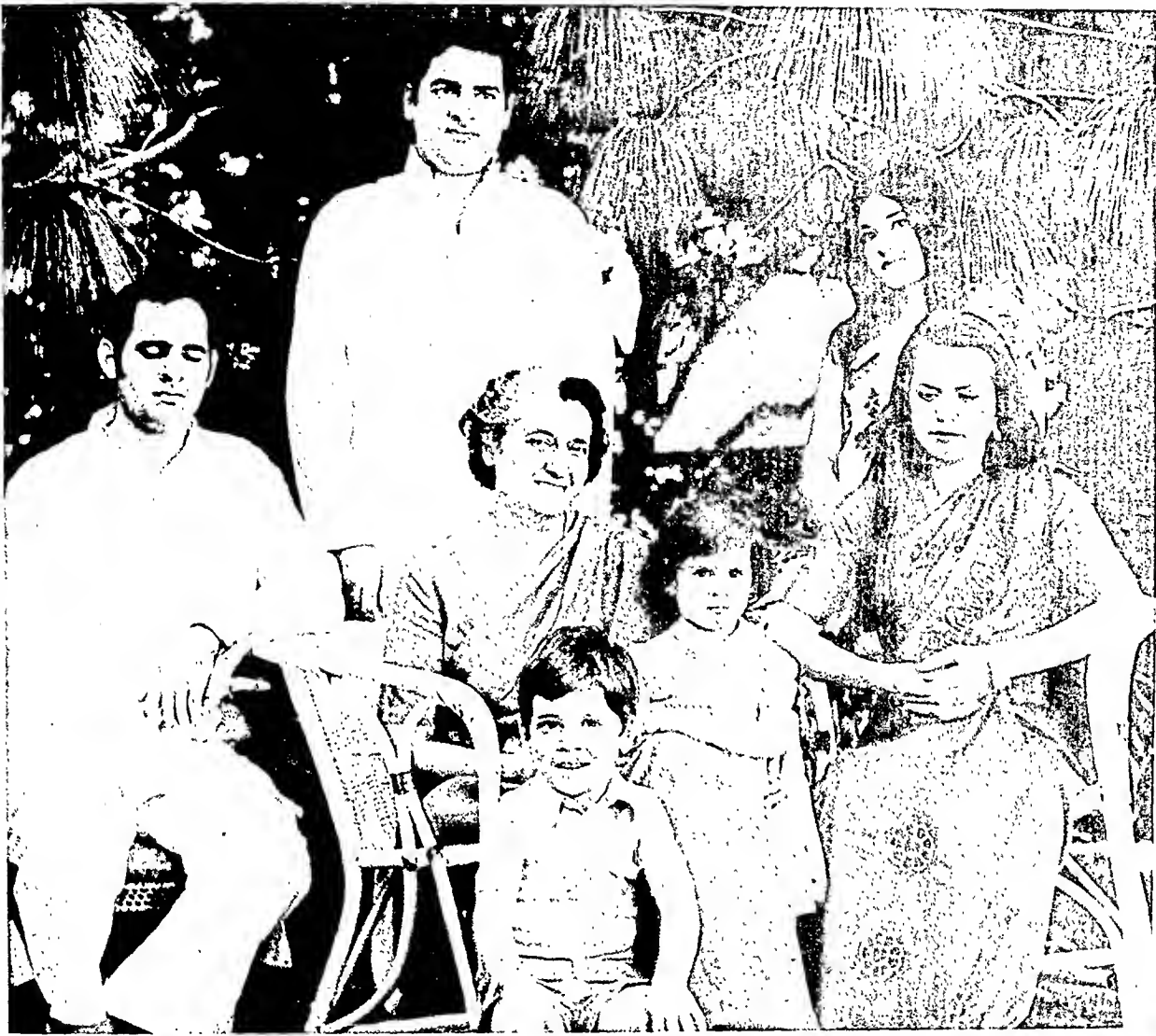


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761. At the marriage of Sanjay Gandhi with Menaka Anand, 29 September, 1974. 762. With Sanjay and his bride after the marriage (by Rangoon Studio, New Delhi). 763. A recent family group. 764. At her working desk at home with her grandchildren (from Paul Saltzman, Toronto). 765. With Menaka, Sonia, Rajiv, Rahul and Priyanka in her study at home (from Paul Saltzman, Toronto)

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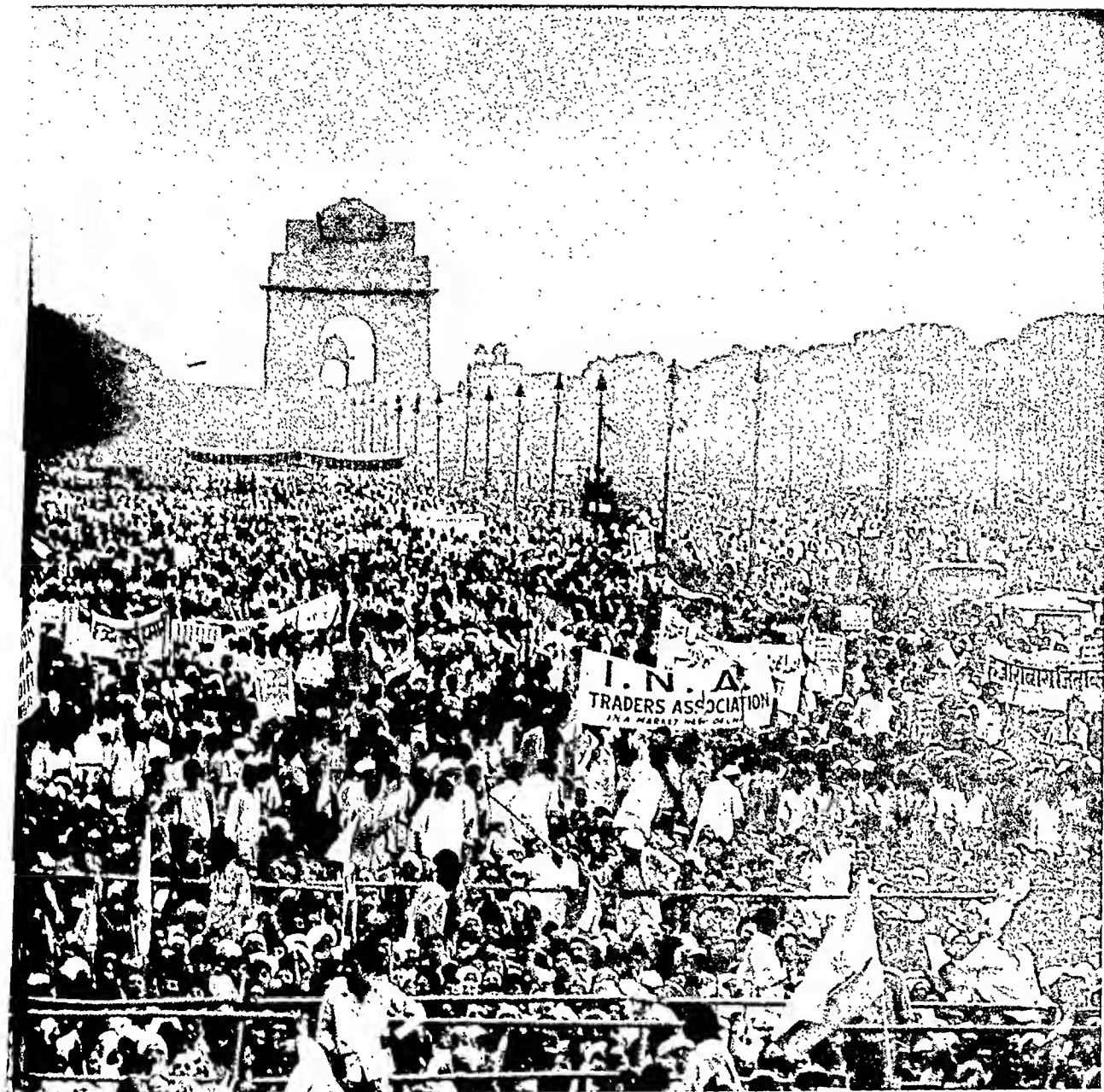


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766. Speaking to the people — from an improvised rostrum in front of her house — gathered to express solidarity with her after the Allahabad High Court Judgement, June 1975. 767. Mass rally of support along Rajpath in New Delhi on 20 June 1975
(by T. S. Satyan)



768



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768 to 770. Accepting felicitations from people after the Supreme Court reversed the Allahabad High Court Judgement and upheld her election to the Lok Sabha, 7 November 1975 (*Photograph 769 is from The Statesman.*)



771

771, 772. Two recent portraits



(A)

राज्य सभा

The western world has projected its viewpoint & its standards so forcibly that the entire world has been forced into a race to match them, regardless of local conditions & requirements.

773

Indira Gandhi

जब जनता ने हमें चुना तो हमने
कुछ वर्ष पहले हमारे देश
को दे दिया -

प्रधानमंत्री
PRIME MINISTER'S HOUSE
NEW DELHI

आजादी खतरे में है -
पूरी लोकतंत्र से बचाओ।
हम अपनी आजादी को तब ही
बचा सकेंगे जब अनुशासन,
एकता, धृति से सब मिलकर
परिभ्रम करें।

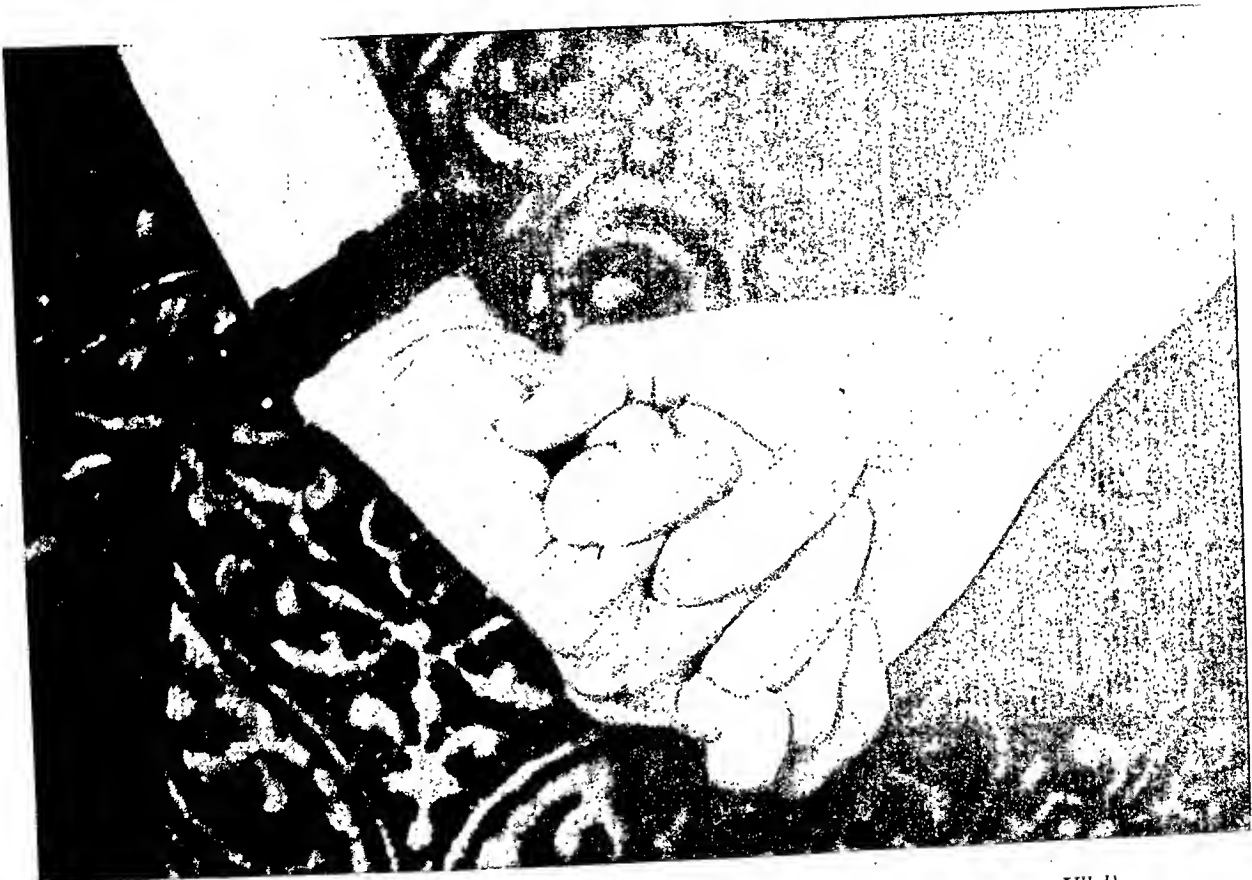
इन्दिरा गांधी

मेरे चुनाव में आपने बड़ी
निष्ठा और लगन से साथ काम
कर चुके और मेरे बिना मैं
कांग्रेस को बिजली लगाया। यह
सफलता आम जन की है।
मेरा इतिहास पन्थवाड़ स्वीकार
करे।

मार्च 1967 इन्दिरा गांधी

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773, 774, 775. Indira Gandhi's handwriting. 776. Her hands (*photograph by Jaywant Ullal*)

Acknowledgements

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Indira Gandhi : A Chronology

6 May 1861	Birth of Motilal Nehru
25 February 1869	Birth of Swarup Rani
14 November 1889	Birth of Jawaharlal Nehru
1 August 1899	Birth of Kamala Koul
8 February 1916	Marriage of Jawaharlal Nehru and Kamala Koul
19 November 1917	Birth of Indira Priyadarshini
13 April 1919	The Jallianwala Bagh massacre
6 December 1921	First arrest of Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru
March 1926 to December 1927	Visit to Europe with parents. Schooling in Switzerland
Summer of 1928	Recipient of <i>Letters from a Father to His Daughter</i>
31 December 1929	Lahore session of Congress under Jawaharlal Nehru's presidentship
26 October 1930	First letter of <i>Glimpses of World History</i>
14 November 1930	Indira heads procession on Jawahar Day. Organisation of Vanar Sena
2 February 1931	Death of Motilal Nehru
April 1931	Visit to Sri Lanka (Ceylon) with parents
May 1931 to April 1934	Study in Pupils' Own School in Poona and later in Bombay
June 1934	Admission to Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan
April 1935	Departure from Visva-Bharati
May 1935	Voyage to Europe with mother
28 February 1936	Death of Kamala Nehru at Lausanne, Switzerland
Summer of 1937	Visit to South-east Asian countries and return to England. Admission to Somerville College, Oxford
10 January 1938	Death of Swarup Rani Nehru
Summer of 1938	Visit to France, Czechoslovakia and Hungary with father
April 1941	Return to India
26 March 1942	Marriage with Feroze Gandhi
8 August 1942	Adoption of "Quit India" resolution by AICC in Bombay
10 September 1942	Arrest in Allahabad
13 May 1943	Release from prison
20 August 1944	Birth of elder son, Rajiv
14 December 1946	Birth of younger son, Sanjay
May 1947	Move to Delhi
29 January 1948	Last meeting with Mahatma Gandhi
May 1953	Visit to London with father for Queen Elizabeth's coronation. First visit to Soviet Union and the Scandinavian countries
1955	Member, Congress Working Committee
16 to 27 April 1955	Participation in Bandung Conference in Indonesia
19 September 1955	Appointment as member of the Central Election Committee of Congress

23 February 1958	Member of the Central Parliamentary Board of Congress in Jawaharlal Nehru's place
July 1958	Leader of the Indian delegation to the International Child Welfare Congress
2 February 1959	Elected President of the Indian National Congress
6 to 14 April 1959	Tour of Kerala
January 1960	Lays down Congress presidentship
8 September 1960	Death of Feroze Gandhi
November 1960	Howland Memorial Prize, Yale; Unesco General Conference in Paris
1962	Member, Unesco Executive Board
19 January 1963	Chairman, Central Citizens' Committee
19 to 27 April 1964	Visit to New York for 'World's Fair
27 May 1964	Death of Jawaharlal Nehru
2 July 1964	Assumption of office as Minister of Information and Broadcasting
20 August 1964	Unopposed election to Rajya Sabha
10 January 1966	Death of Lal Bahadur Shastri at Tashkent
19 January 1966	Election as Leader of Congress Party in Parliament
24 January 1966	Assumption of office as Prime Minister
25 March to April 1966	Visit to France, United States and Britain
12 June 1966	Announcement of devaluation of rupee
8 to 12 July 1966	Visit to Yugoslavia, Soviet Union and UAR
23 October 1966	Tripartite meeting in New Delhi with Presidents Tito and Nasser
1 November 1966	Formation of Haryana
22 February 1967	Supreme Court ruling limiting Parliament's power to amend Constitution (Golaknath case)
23 February 1967	Election to Lok Sabha from Rae Bareilly
13 March 1967	Sworn in as Prime Minister
5 September 1967	External Affairs portfolio assumed (and retained until 14 February 1969)
25 February 1968	Wedding of Rajiv Gandhi and Sonia Maino
14 October 1968	Address to U.N. General Assembly
10 July 1969	Session of AICC in Bangalore
12 July 1969	Congress Parliamentary Board chooses N. Sanjiva Reddy as Presidential candidate
16 July 1969	Indira Gandhi takes over Finance portfolio (retained until 26 June 1970)
19 July 1969	Nationalization of major banks. Resignation of Morarji Desai from Cabinet
20 August 1969	Election of V.V. Giri as President
12 November 1969	Congress President Nijalingappa 'expels' Indira Gandhi, asks Congress Parliamentary Party to elect new leader

13 November 1969	330 out of 432 members of Congress Parliamentary Party adopt resolution expressing full confidence in Indira Gandhi
14 November 1969	Anand Bhawan donated to nation
26 November 1969	446 members of AICC meet in special session, elect new Congress President. Split becomes complete
10 February 1970	Supreme Court strikes down Bank Nationalization Act
19 June 1970	Birth of grandson, Rahul
26 June 1970	Home portfolio taken over (retained until February 1973)
6 to 10 September 1970	Third Conference of Non-aligned Countries at Lusaka
15 October 1970	Supreme Court strikes down derecognition of Princes
23 October 1970	Address to silver jubilee session of U.N. General Assembly
27 December 1970	Broadcast announcing dissolution of Lok Sabha and holding of general election
25 January 1971	Formation of Himachal Pradesh
18 March 1971	Sworn in as Prime Minister for Third time
23 March 1971	Political crackdown in Dacca
31 March 1971	Parliament adopts resolution on East Bengal situation
9 August 1971	Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation with Soviet Union
27 to 29 September 1971	Visit to Moscow
24 October to 12 November 1971	Visit to Western Europe and U.S.A. to explain the Government's stand on Bangladesh
3 December 1971	Pakistan bombs Indian airfields
4 December 1971	Indira Gandhi broadcasts soon after midnight declaring that aggression will be met
6 December 1971	Recognition of Bangladesh
16 December 1971	Pakistan troops surrender in Dacca
17 December 1971	Unilateral cease-fire by India on Western front
18 December 1971	Bharat Ratna awarded by President
28 December 1971	Derecognition of Princes and Privy Purse; abolition validated by Constitutional amendment
12 January 1972	Birth of grand daughter, Priyanka
20 January 1972	Inauguration of Meghalaya State
21 January 1972	Manipur and Tripura become States
2 July 1972	Simla Agreement with Pakistan. India returns conquered territories
24 April 1973	Supreme Court upholds Parliament's right to amend Constitution (Keshavanand Bharati case)
28 August 1973	India-Bangladesh-Pakistan agreement on return of prisoners
6 September 1973	Fourth Conference of Non-aligned Countries at Algiers
30 April 1974	Return of 91,000 Pakistan prisoners of war completed
18 May 1974	Peaceful nuclear explosion conducted in Rajasthan desert

11 July 1974	Anti-inflation Programme announced
29 September 1974	Wedding of Sanjay Gandhi and Menaka Anand
2 February 1975	Accord with Sheikh Abdullah
14 April 1975	Referendum in Sikkim favours its becoming part of India
19 April 1975	India's first satellite, Aryabhata, launched
12 June 1975	<i>Judgement of Allahabad High Court</i>
23 June 1975	Ruling by Supreme Court upholding Indira Gandhi's right to continue as Prime Minister
25 June 1975	Proclamation of Emergency after Opposition Front's announcement of plans of countrywide agitation
1 July 1975	Twenty-Point Programme announced
7 November 1975	Supreme Court reverses the Allahabad High Court Judgement and upholds Indira Gandhi's election to Lok Sabha